Personal Observations on Sind



T. POSTANS



PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

ON

SINDH;

THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF ITS INHABITANTS;

AND

ITS PRODUCTIVE CAPABILITIES.

WITH

A SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY,

A NARRATIVE OF RECENT EVENTS,

AND AN ACCOUNT OF

THE CONNECTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH THAT COUNTRY
TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

BY

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TO

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR HENRY POTTINGER, BART. G.C.B

HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S PLENIPOTENTIARY IN CHINA,

AND FORMERLY

RESIDENT AT THE COURTS OF CUTCH AND SINDH,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

WITH

SENTIMENTS OF THE HIGHEST ESTEEM AND REGARD,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

In introducing a work like the following to the public, but few words appear to be necessary: the only object of the author is to convey information respecting a country which now occupies a large share of general attention, and concerning which much that has been written is in a scanty and disjointed form. Having enjoyed unusual advantages for collecting his materials, the author offers them to the public without apology for their style or manner, though with every wish that his work may contribute to afford additional knowledge concerning the value and interests of the great empire possessed by the British in India. Where authorities have been consulted, the author acknowledges those of, "Pottinger's Bilúchistan," "Captain M'Murdo in Journal of Asiatic Society," "Wood's Oxus," Third Volume of "Lieutenant Búrnes' Travels," "Dr. Búrnes' Visit to the

Court of Sindh," and "Crow's Reports." The history of the country was originally published in a translation made from the Persian by the author. For the reports by those officers who have studied the peculiarities of the Indus and its navigation, the kindness of Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, late superintendant of the Indian navy, has been particularly acknowledged by the author in his Appendix.

London, July, 1843

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Frontispiece.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER XI.

CHAPTER XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHAPTER I.

Extent of Sindh. — Title — Whence derived. — Two principal Divisions. — Delta and Southern Division. — Sehwun. — Narrah River. — Lake Munchur. — Upper or Northern Division. — Climate and Seasons. — Great Heat. — Diseases. — Rain unusual. — Hot Winds. — Cold of Upper Sindh. — Climate of Karrachi. — Advantageous Situation of Sindh relatively to the Sea. — Changeable Character of River. — Peculiar Geographical Features of Sindh. — Absence of Roads. — Natives journeying by River.

The territory of Sindh, lately possessed by the Bilúch chiefs of Talpúr, lies between the 23d and 29th degrees of north latitude, and 67th to 70th degrees of east longitude, having the river Indus nearly in its centre, and comprising all the portion of its valley between the Bhawulpúr territories to the north, the ocean to the south, east and west to the desert tracts which intervene between it and the province of Cutch, and the mountains separating it from the higher country of Biluchistan.

The extent of this lower division of the country fertilised by the Indus, may be about 500 miles in greatest length, allowing for the windings of the stream: it would be difficult to determine its aver-

age breadth measured by the soil coming within the influence of the river or its branches, as the extent is very variable: to the eastward, particularly above the Delta, as far north as Khyrpúr, the sandy desert which separates Sindh from Cutch and Guzírat, contends with the fertile soil for the predominance, and thus it is generally narrow and limited, whilst on the western side the river occasionally fertilises to the utmost verge of the mountains, at a great distance from its main stream. Sindh Proper, however, may be understood as the whole of that portion of territory included between the limits before given, and within the influence of the river: those parts which lie beyond the reach of the Indus being sandy wastes or desert tracts, scarcely merit any place in describing a country so peculiar in its features as that of Sindh, which, like Egypt, is the gift of the river permeating its whole extent and fertilising its valley.

There are various opinions as to the origin of the title given to this tract. By the Greeks, the whole, or a portion, appears to have been known as *Sindomana*. The Hindús trace it fabulously to "Sindh, the brother of Hind, the son of Noah," and in their sacred books it is called Sindhú. Both Hindús and Mahommedans style this portion of the river Indus as Sindh, by which it is generally known in the East, and it is thus probable, that the river gives the name to that lower portion

of country fructified by its waters. The name, however derived, is very ancient.

Sindh has always been divided, geographically and politically, into two principal portions, Upper and Lower, or rather Northern and Southern, distinguished by the natives as *Lar* and *Sirra*, the etymology of which terms is not very clear. Each of these divisions has its particular climate, soil, and productions, and is otherwise distinctly marked by physical peculiarities.

Northern, or Upper Sindh, comprises all that tract from Sehwun upwards to the Bhawulpúr territories; and Southern or Lower Sindh, that from Sehwun, including the delta of the river to the sea. Each has its capital, and is again subdivided into certain districts, or pergunnahs; the government of the upper also being shared by a branch of the same family as that ruling in the lower country.

Commencing with the southern portion and Delta of the Indus, we find that in many cases the Delta of a great river is the division of soil most cultivated; but although this rule obtains on the Nile, that of the Indus may be considered as forming an exception, for, though it yields so abundantly in rice, it is almost of spontaneous growth, and there is otherwise little cultivated produce commensurate with the means for fertility so abundantly provided.

On the Nile, the strip of productive soil, afforded by the alluvial deposit, is very narrow, yet every

portion of it is cultivated with a care and industry commensurate with its value.

Canals are cut from the river into the interior, the banks are walled with masonry, hand wheels for raising water are every where seen, and waving crops refresh the eye; but on the Indus, without inducement to labour, and under the oppression of a government indifferent to any wants but those of semi-barbarous recreation, the people raise only what may be required for their immediate subsistence, and feel no anxiety for the agricultural improvement of the country. Unlike the cultivated portion of the Nile, a mere strip of fine soil, bordered by the hopeless sands of the Libyan Desert, the greater portion of the Delta of the Indus is capable of cultivation, but it nevertheless is overgrown with jüngle, and on the Indus miles are travelled over country between its delta and the sea, where neither villages nor cultivation meet the eye, nor aught indeed but droves of camels, feeding on the thorny bushes springing from a soil capâble of producing most abundantly.

The river Indus possesses in all eleven mouths; some are yet partially open to navigation, and others, by the casting up sand banks with various causes, have become inaccessible. A little below the city of Tattah, the main stream divides into two great branches, and between these lies the Delta.

The western branch, known as the Bàgàr, is well cultivated on both its banks: the means of irri-

gation with Persian wheels and water channels are frequent, and the cattle are large, and apparently provided with good pasturage; but between this branch and the eastern mouth of the river the country is a mere waste in the dry season, and a swampy rice ground during the inundations, although the effects of these are to prepare the land for yielding abundantly of every description of produce. The Delta occupies a space of about seventy English miles, and presents generally the appearance of a level, overgrown with camel thorn and bastard cypress. It is as well peopled as other parts, though the wandhs, or temporary villages scattered about it, are, like their inhabitants, wretched in the extreme. The Sindhians, who are found in the Delta, are for the greater part, wandering and pastoral tribes, Jutts and Jokias: a few Bilúchís feed their camels here, and fishermen reside near the river banks, but the whole population, excluding the residents of the few towns that yet remain, is very trifling.

One of the chief obstacles to the settlement of cattle breeders and agriculturists in the Delta, is the difficulty sometimes experienced of procuring sufficient quantities of fresh water, which, in consequence of the saltness of that near the mouths and creeks, must be procured from springs and wells in the interior: this observation however only applies to the lower portions near the sea.

Consequent on the light character of the soil in

Lower Sindh, from sunrise to sunset clouds of dust whirl over the country, from which the inhabitants of the Delta partially protect themselves by erecting little grass huts, and fencing them about with mats made of the long coarse grass called Keri, that the people raise near the river banks as forage, in the same manner that they cultivate dense jungle, to secure to the Amirs their favourite Shikargahs, instead of useful crops of valuable cultivation.

The climate of the Delta during the inundations of the Indus is noxious and unpleasant, and owing to the abundant overflow to which it is exposed from the river, travelling is both difficult and unhealthy.

On the Bàgàr creek there yet remains a celebrated place of pilgrimage known as Pír Puttur, which with its surrounding tombs and ruined edifices, stands on a crescent of limestone hills looking on the creek. The extent of walls still to be seen induces to the opinion that a town of very considerable size once stood here; and although a Persian inscription over the door of a Minar asserts that the Pir was a cotemporary of the poet Sadi, the town was probably of much higher antiquity, having perhaps originally flourished under the Hindú dynasties of Sindh. Innumerable remains of rich architecture lie scattered over the hills, but they are tangled with the milk bush and Pelú, and surrounded by white-washed tombs and mounds of rubbish.

This shrine is second only to that of Sehwun, and the Amirs were wont to pay it marked distinction in the shape of satin hangings to the tomb, and endowments to its keepers. It is not much known however, as the Bàgàr is now a mere creek and little navigated.

Except the old capital of Lower Sindh, now known as Tattah, a comparatively ruined town, standing on the apex of the Delta, there is little to interest the traveller between Hyderabad and the Bàgàr, while nothing attracts the eye but the hunting grounds of the princes, which advance like wild forests to the water's edge. A few fishermen's huts are the only habitations, and here and there strolling along the bank may be seen the servants of the Amirs, holding leashes of large Affghan dogs, or bearing hawks upon their wrists, but no appearance of either agriculture or commerce. The features of the river bank and general appearance of the southern portion of Sindh are very dissimilar to that above the rocky barrier of Sehwun. In the former the scenery alternates between sand-hills and dense jungle; but in the immediate neighbourhood of Hyderabad is a low range of limestone hills, that meet the river at about twenty miles below the capital on the western bank, while on the eastern a similar chain runs a considerable distance upwards until it terminates in the point on which Hyderabad is built. The general character of Lower Sindh, as seen from the river, taken from the Delta up-

wards, presents dense masses of trees formed by the Shikargahs, the never-ceasing cypress, sand-heaps, and limestone hills: habitations are few and the population scanty. This division has been completely sacrificed to the presiding passion of the chiefs for sport: every point accessible from the capital is devoted to game preserves, and the rice cultivation in the Delta itself is the only exception to the general rule of unproductiveness; but the country increases in populousness and fertility the higher the river is ascended beyond the Delta, because farther removed from the baneful influence of the selfish policy of its rulers.

At Sehwun the Lukkí Hills join the river, forcing it into an eastern channel, deep and rapid: the strength given to the current is often mischievous; banks giving way, trees being torn up and villages washed away by it. The reflection from the rocks, also, increases the heat very materially, and the climate is always sultry and disagreeable. The effect, however, of the hills which surround Sehwun, and the range on which it is built, is extremely picturesque, and there is much about the fort interesting to the traveller.

The country about Sehwun (or Sewistan) is richer than it is in any other part of Lower Sindh, and the neighbourhood being fertile, the town is well supplied — a desideratum this, in consequence of the numbers of pilgrims and fakirs who resort to the tomb of the celebrated Lal Shah Baz, a favourite

with both Hindús and Mahommedans. The Indus, or rather its branch called the Arrul, may be crossed by a ferry about a mile above Sehwun, and good roads exist on both banks only during the dry season. Sehwun is about 100 miles from Hyderabad.

Northern Sindh, which extends from Sehwun to Subzulkót, is an uninterrupted level, through which in serpentine course flows the river Indus. Immediately beyond the pass of Sehwun, the great branch of the river known as the "Narra," joins the main stream, which it leaves 280 miles beyond, after passing through the lake Munchur, an expanse of waste water probably 300 square miles in extent. This additional means of fertility gives an advantage to the upper division of Sindh, which is fully brought to bear; and the finest district in the whole country is that lying between Sehwun and Larkhana, comprising, indeed, the greater portion of the western bank of the Indus in northern Sindh; the eastern side is rather more fertile in this division than the same portion of the lower country.

Amid the generally arid, dreary, and sterile character of the scenery of Sindh, Lake Munchur deserves especial notice. It forms a fair expanse of calm transparent water, lying beneath the mountains and surrounded with rich foliage; its still, deep, central channel, tangled with lotus flowers, among the dark plants of which rest the small

boats, that form the floating habitation of many of the Sindhian families, who subsist on the fish which here abound, and the innumerable varieties of water fowl that crowd its margin.

The interior of the country between Lake Munchur and the sea is in its general appearance very far superior to any scenery to be found on the river banks. The soil is hard, the roads good, occasional ranges of hills, small lakes, surrounded with cypress trees; and a greater degree of cultivation is to be found, but this is the case only in the winter or dry season, for during the inundation the whole becomes like the Delta — a mere swamp, where travelling is impossible and malaria abundant.

Though not so capable a portion as the Delta, the upper division of Sindh is more thickly cultivated, for being beyond the limits of the capital, the chiefs have allowed it to be appropriated otherwise than to their own purposes of gratification; and having moreover a more tenacious soil and double means of fertility derived both from the main stream and the great branch of the Narra before alluded to, Upper Sindh is for a great portion of its extent a rich and valuable tract, particularly the western bank, showing, in fact, what the whole is capable of becoming if its faculties were fully brought to bear. Sehwun divides the country into nearly equal portions; but there is a marked difference between the climate, soil, and productions of each.

The whole of Lower Sindh is within the influence of breezes from the ocean, which temper the otherwise intolerable heat during the summer solstice, but beyond Sehwun these are not felt, and the sun's rays have full and unmitigated effect. The change is immediate on passing the rocky barrier, which gradually advancing from the Hala Range to Sehwun, closes in the river at that point. The climate of Sindh, generally, is considered to be trying to the constitution, and it is reasonable to conclude that a low country constantly exposed for a greater portion of the year to the inundations of a river like the Indus, must in its swamps and lakes possess the seeds of malaria and disease. According to the native geographers, however, Sindh is held as salubrious, and is thus described; "Sindh is blessed with a fine climate; the lower part is cool, the upper hot; the mornings invariably fresh and invigorating." This latter is to a certain extent true, for even in the northern parts of Sindh, where the nights are nearly as hot as the day, the dawn is comparatively cool and refreshing. Here a certain stagnation of air appears to occur, which, with a fierce sun, is for a great portion of the year very trying and even severely felt by the natives themselves.

The Affghans and northern tribes dread this climate so much that they have a proverb which says, "The sun of Sindh will turn a white man black, and is sufficiently powerful to roast an egg:" the latter has been proved by experiment

to be no exaggeration; between the 23d and 30th degree of N. latitude, in the midst of dry sandy plains, and with an alluvial soil, a high range of thermometer may be expected.

The upper part of Sindh, though the heat is at least 20 degrees greater throughout the year than in the lower, is in reality the healthier of the two, which may be attributed to the exceeding dryness of the atmosphere.

Evaporation here takes place so rapidly that its bad effects are not felt; the waters withdraw, and in the space of ten or fifteen days the country is as dry as before the inundations, whilst elsewhere a humid air contributes to delay the work of evaporation, and at certain periods of the year the lower part of Sindh is a complete Pontine marsh.

The dews in the Delta are incredibly heavy, particularly during certain months: the effect is that of heavy rain, and the natives attribute the most noxious properties to these, and pronounce them inimical to longevity; suffice it to say, as a proof of the different estimation in which Upper and Lower Sindh are held by the inhabitants of the country themselves, that the servants of government under the Amirs always received increased pay when serving in the Delta and portions below Sehwun.

The diseases of Sindh are those common to India: that fearful pestilence, the cholera, makes its periodical visitation, and is very destructive; it usually marches up the river, first appearing in

the Delta. Sindh would appear to be particularly calculated to produce ophthalmia, and otherwise engender eye complaints; and though such is the case, it is, in this respect, not so bad as Egypt, where the inhabitants suffer so universally. Comparing the climates of the countries on the banks of the two great rivers, Nile and Indus, the former would appear to have little advantage: the *Khamsin* winds of the Nile are nearly as trying to the health as the hot winds on the Indus. The plague is never out of Egypt, and the murrains of cattle are fearful. (In 1842, 140,000 died between the cataracts and the sea!) For annoyances of insects and vermin Egypt distances all competition with any other quarter of the globe: the land of the Nile teems with every *creeping thing;* that of the Indus is comparatively free from this *latter* species of annoyance.

In the crowded bazaars of the larger towns in Sindh, the natives, particularly the Hindús, evince by their haggard looks and distended abdomens the impurity and stagnation of the atmosphere in which they live; dropsy and enlarged spleen are the usual complaints in these situations, but here the fault is not, after all, so much in the climate as in the habits of the people, who are totally apathetic to the ordinary means of preserving health and comfort. A great proof of the sultriness of some parts of Sindh is evinced by the natives of all classes carrying fans during certain seasons of the year, and in Sehwun

and other towns the shopkeepers are obliged to have a punkah suspended over their heads (which they generally work by means of the toes of the right foot): both these palliatives to heat are very unusual in the East, except with Europeans. The mountain tribes say of Sindh — "Dozük üst," it is *pandemonium*.

Rain is unusual and uncertain in Sindh, as it does not come within the influence of the south-west or north-west Monsoons, though equinoctial storms and gales are generally experienced, particularly at the vernal equinox: these are preceded by hurricanes and an atmosphere so impregnated with dust, that the sun is hardly visible. They generally occur towards sunset, and have a suffocating effect: but seldom last many hours. Thunder storms are of frequent occurrence. In the upper part of Sindh, where portions of the country lie beyond the influence of the waters of the Indus, rain is looked upon as a blessing, but lower down it is deprecated, and considered by the inhabitants as injurious to health and mischievous to the crops.

In alluding to the great heat of the upper portion of the river, the annual range of the thermometer kept at Sukkur during the year 1841 is appended. It is not probably much higher than in some of our stations in the interior of India, but the disadvantages consist in a total stagnation of air, which defeats the artificial means elsewhere employed to mitigate the climate of the hot season, as also an uninterrupted duration of trying heat for seven or

eight months without the counteraction of a rainy period. Where the hot winds or Simúms blow, they often become above Sehwun dangerous in their effects, as very melancholy results of inexperience in this matter on our first occupation of the country can testify. The natives, aware of their power, avoid travelling at this season. Upper Sindh has, however, a lower temperature during the cold season than the country farther south. The attire of the inhabitants proves this, as well as the thermometer. Instead of cotton and muslin garments worn throughout the year in India, the wealthy people in Sindh wear English broad-cloth, wadded silk, and chintz dresses, Cashmere shawls, and rich thick scarfs of Múltan manufacture, over which they commonly throw the warm posteen of Caubúl, or fur cloak, having the dressed skin outside, richly and curiously embroidered. Persons who cannot afford the large cloak wear spencers of the same description, and the poorer classes coarse woollen blankets.

Karrachi is comparatively a delightful climate to the sensation, always possessing a cool sea-breeze; and it may be pronounced the sanatarium of Sindh, for the thermometer at this station is seldom more than 90 degrees Fahrenheit at a maximum range of heat, whilst at Sukkur it would be 20 degrees higher. Karrachi, however, notwithstanding these advantages, has proved uncongenial to the European regiments there stationed; the troops have certainly been badly housed, and, as in any part of the East

the first indispensable to health is substantial protection in the shape of lofty and otherwise well adapted buildings, much may be attributed at this place to the absence of these. Excellent barracks, &c. are now in progress of erection, and there are, with these, no apparent causes why Karrachi should not be fully as salubrious or more so than Bombay, where a considerable European force composes the garrison. Surrounded as Sindh is on every side by immense sandy plains and deserts and exposed to such great heat, its river alone makes its upper division bearable in climate or capable of human location.

The seasons in Sindh may be classed as the hot and cold, the changes being so rapid that spring and autumn are not experienced. The hot season lasts from March to September: ice is by no means uncommon in Upper Sindh, and the vegetation assumes all the appearance of winter in Europe; the Bilúchi hills as far south as Gundava are capped with snow. The natives divide the year into three parts — spring, summer, and winter, but such distinctions do not in reality exist, particularly in Upper Sindh, for the heat gains so rapidly after the cold season, and the latter succeeds so immediately on the hot, that the gradations are hardly perceptible. The cold season extends from October to March: this latter the Sindhians designate spring or Bahar, but the distinction scarcely exists, for by the end of the month the heat is very great, and in

April becomes severe; a slight diminution of sultriness occurs in September, but the change is only experienced during the night: the sun of Sindh is annoying even during its greatest southern declination.

The situation of Sindh relatively to the Indian Ocean gives it great advantages, which its former and more ancient possessors fully appreciated. Its mouths are accessible from the sea only during five months in the year, but it has always had a port of considerable importance in the Delta or to the westward, which latter communicated with the former great mart and manufacturing city of Tattah for nearly nine months throughout the year. Karrachi is at present the port resorted to for this purpose in supersession to a certain extent of Dharajah or Laribunder, on a western branch of the Delta, now no longer available.

The changeable nature of the river is nowhere more prominently witnessed than in the Delta and the lower part of Sindh, whose geography is thus in the course of a very few years completely altered.

There is every reason to believe, therefore, that all arguments respecting the ancient site, not only of places near, but even of the Delta itself, must be resolved into mere conjecture, since, as an instance, within the memory of many, that is, during even a space of three and a half to four years, the city of Tattah is at least one and a half or two miles

further from the river, than it used to be: older authorities remark the same phenomena at this particular point, and thus in a greater or less degree, according to accidental circumstances, does the same cause work throughout the whole of Sindh. At Sukkur, Rorí, below Hyderabad, and at Jerruk, rocky barriers interrupt on the western bank its progress at those particular spots, but elsewhere it has full liberty to choose its constantly changing course, through an under soil so light and friable, that it cannot withstand the action of such a mighty rush of water even for one hour.

The geographical features of such a country are very peculiar. Towns, once of commercial importance, are now no longer valuable for the objects of traffic: the facilities afforded by the river being withdrawn, and its advantages lost, ports which were resorted to for the whole trade of the Indus are ruined and abandoned; and portions at some periods cultivated and productive, are, in the course of a short space of time, often converted into desert tracts. The natural sloth of the natives of Sindh induces them always to choose their localities near the river, where subsistence is easily obtained, and in this way they often suffer, for whole villages are in the course of a season swept away by its torrent. The noise of the falling banks of the Indus, when heard upon the stream during a calm night, resembles the constant discharge of distant artillery.

The whole surface of Sindh for a greater portion of its extent being cut up into canals and water-courses, its traffic during the inundation of the river is confined to the stream.

There are few roads, and the ordinary land routes are completely impeded during the floods. The poorer natives journeying, therefore, from the upper portion of the river to the lower, are in the habit of committing themselves to the stream, securing their safety by a closed earthen vessel, which they strap round their loins; in this way the Sindhians may be often seen during the height of the inundations, making their way from village to village. It should be remarked, however, that the Míanis and tribes living near the river, are as much at home in the water as out of it; they may really be termed amphibious, for with an inflated goat-skin, or a common earthen jar, they cross the stream during its most turbulent season, or at its greatest breadth.

The huts in some parts of Sindh at this period of inundation are furnished with a raised platform about twenty feet from the ground, on which is a small reed granary for the reception of the grain and seeds, as the only means of keeping them dry, and where also the inhabitants sleep.

There is one evil in Sindh connected with the extent of the overflowing of the river, that must not be forgotten; it is the plagues of gnats, which are engendered by the mud when the inundation

recedes. The torments of these are in places so formidable, that whole villages and communities residing immediately on the river are obliged to migrate, and the largest animals of the country, buffaloes, camels, or horses, would be soon destroyed if exposed to their constant attacks. This insect is a very small sand-fly or midge, far worse than the mosquitoe in its quality of tormentor, for the enemy is too small to resist by ordinary methods, and penetrates irresistibly. Many parts of Sindh are free from this annoyance, but portions of the country subjected to inundations are more or less liable to this species of vexation.



WOMAN OF SINDH

CHAP. II.

Inhospitable Appearance of the Country — Capable of Improvement. — Coast of Sindh. — Harbour of Karrachi. — Principal Towns. — Karrachi. — Crocola. — Tattah. — Vikkur. — Hyderabad. — Mírpúr. — Omarkót. — Sehwun. — Larkhana. — Khyrpúr. — Sukkur. — Rorí. — Shikarpúr. — Tundas. — General Description of Sindhian Towns. — Bazaars. — Routes communicating with Sindh.

The foregoing remarks certainly draw any thing but a pleasing picture of the climate and general features of Sindh; and in all truth it must be confessed, that while it is undoubtedly a country highly favoured by position, and by the never-ceasing causes of fertility in its river, it is at the same time so grossly mismanaged as to its agricultural capabilities, that of its own scanty population a great portion depend for subsistence on the fish so extensively found in the river. Its general appearance is a jungly wilderness: its river, instead of fertilising, overspreads the land like a wild waste of water, and spontaneous vegetation takes the place of cultivation; but it must be remembered, that with a country so situated as the one now describing, much depends on the artificial and mechanical means used to assist nature as well as to counteract its effects. If these were employed

in Sindh, the whole country would assume a very different aspect; draining, or in other words extensive cultivation, would tend materially to alter its general climate and features, and a better system of government would foster a larger population. Sindh is in the immediate neighbourhood of countries ill provided for, or periodically subjected to the most severe visitations of famine, the inhabitants of whom now migrate to the most distant portions of Western India, not because they did not know the capabilities of Sindh, but because they could not by any possibility locate themselves there, under a system of misrule. The jungles and immense tracts now usurped by tamarisk bushes and rank vegetation, might yet however be reclaimed to the plough, for in the East there is no want of labourers to till the soil, if the inducement be only offered to them to do so. Sindh will, therefore, there is every reason to hope, become hereafter a far different country than it has been for many centuries since the Hindú rule, and will put forth those advantages which it possesses in common with the tracts watered by the Jumna, the Ganges, or the Nile; its general dreary aspect and inhospitable features undergoing proportionate modification.

The coast of Sindh is particularly dangerous during the height of the south-west monsoon, for a period of about four months; for the whole force of the Indian Ocean beating upon it, it is then

totally unapproachable by native craft, and dangerous to all. This occurs from May to September, and the same rule applies to the coast of Kattywar and gulf of Cutch, with a clearer bar at the mouth of the Karrachi creek, however it might be entered by strong steamers at any time. A ridge or prong of rocks runs out from the point Manúra, and is very dangerous to cross when the sea is high and rough.

Karrachi is capable of great improvement as a harbour. It has an advantageous promontory for a lighthouse (and one is about to be erected); under this, on the eastern side, vessels may anchor in tolerable security, except during very heavy weather. The creek which leads from this point (Manúra) to the town is small for any but native craft, and is so choked up with mud, that the smallest boats can only run up close to the landing place at high water. A sort of jetty has lately been thrown out, which is calculated to become of great assistance in facilitating the landing and loading of merchandize; but the creek would require to be cleared ere any substantial improvement were effected.

Sindh is reached from Bombay in about four days' steaming, the direction being N.N.W., and the point to be made Cape Monze, which is the southern extremity of the Halla or Bilúch mountains, separating Sindh from the Kilat territories.

The principal places of importance in Sindh

at the present day are the following, though some of them would hardly deserve the name of towns or capitals of districts in our own Indian provinces. Near the Delta stand Karrachi and Tattah. Karrachi is a miserable-looking town, containing about 8000 inhabitants: it derives importance from its position, however, as the only port of Sindh, and a large military cantonment of our troops erected here has added considerably to the trade and prosperity of the place. The country in its vicinity is a perfect desert: it imports the whole of its supplies from Sindh, Bombay, or Guzirat. Karrachi is properly situated in Mikran, and was annexed to the Kilat territories; but it was wrested from that state by Futteh Alli Talpúr, and now forms a portion of the Sindhian possessions. A creek runs up from Karrachi to Garrah within twenty-four miles of Tattah, and thus the communication with the Indus at the latter place is easily kept up. To those interested in the ancient geography of Sindh, and the march of the great Macedonian conqueror, it may be satisfactory to know that there is little doubt the modern Karrachi was that *Crocola*, whence Nearchus started with his fleet to sail along the coast of Mikran and Persia. The place is situated in a district still called *Kukralla*.

Karrachi carries on a brisk trade with Cutch, Kattywar, Bombay, the Malabar coast, Muscat, Zanzibar, and Bunder Abbas. The distance from

Karrachi to Tattah by land is seventy miles, forty of which are over a desert country, where water is scarce. This route is not frequented by the merchant, except during the dry season, when goods are transmitted the whole way to the northern extremity of Sindh by camel carriage, to avoid the weary delay of the river passage. The time consumed by land to Shikarpúr is twenty to twenty-five days. Karrachi is one hundred miles by land from the capital Hyderabad. To the northward and westward of the town are some gardens well planted with mangoe and other trees, and supplying from wells the only water capable of being used by our troops or the inhabitants of the town.

Tattah, once the capital of the Delta, was formerly a place of great renown for its trade and manufactures, but its glory has completely departed: it presents a ruined and deserted appearance, and, where it boasted formerly 3000 looms ,and, until the beginning of the present century, was famous for its embroidery and a silk fabric called Lúnghí (answering very much to those rich stuffs of silk, cotton, and gold tissue for which Ahmedabad was formerly so celebrated), these are now obtained with difficulty, and the better sort only when especially ordered. Tattah had a population estimated at 80,000; now it does not probably contain a tenth of that number. It is situated near the apex of the Delta, in a low plain, on the western bank of the river, much exposed to inundation. The town is at times

so much flooded that the foundations of the houses are required to be of bricks, or more endurable materials than the mud and plaister in common use throughout the country. The climate of Tattah is particularly bad. A force of native troops stationed here on our first occupation of the country was completely disorganised by sickness arising from the malaria of this swampy place.

It has the remains of a fine Másjíd, built by one of the deputies of Arungzíb, and the Makalla hills to the S. E. are occupied as extensive Mahommedan burying-grounds, where are some beautiful tombs of former governors and holy men. Tattah was long the seat of government in Sindh, and under the Mogul throne, the lieutenants deputed to the country resided here. In the vicinity are to be seen the ruins of a large fortified town, known as Kullian Kót; but there are neither legends or records to lead to any elucidation of its history. It has some Mahommedan remains, which would appear not to entitle it to any very high antiquity.

Tattah, it should be observed, has been variously disputed, as the site of the ancient Pattala, at the apex of the Delta; but as the shifting character of the river daily removes this town further from the stream (as elsewhere explained), two thousand years may be fairly considered as too long a period to admit of speculation as to its position at the period of Alexander's march.

In the Delta, Vikkur, on the Hujamri mouth, is the last remaining accessible port of that portion of

:he river: it has a fluctuating population of about :000 people, and is only of importance as a landing place for goods transmitted into the river direct during the short period of its being accessible. Dharajah, on the western branch of the Delta, was formerly a place of importance as being the port of Tattah during its palmy days of trade and prosperity; but the river has much deserted this arm, and the port has lost its value. Mughribí, situated on the eastern arm of the Delta, is a pretty place, and carries on a brisk trade in rice, the staple grain of the lower country and Delta. Jerruk, situated above Tattah, on the same bank of the river, is a neat town, and its effect from the river is remarkably pleasing, in consequence of the abundance of foliage around it, in the form of Shikargahs: it also occupies a commanding site on a ledge of rocky hills overlooking the stream.

Beyond the Delta is Hyderabad, the modern capital, built by the Kaloras, the dynasty preceding that of the Talpúrs which has now fallen. Hyderabad is advantageously situated in the extremity of a ridge of limestone hills, which run for many miles parallel to the river on its eastern bank; it consists of a high and very extensive fortification, with a long street or bazaar running for nearly a mile along the crest of the hill. The sea breezes reach Hyderabad, and this, coupled with its situation which is very central, causes it to be chosen as the seat of government. It has an exceedingly picturesque appearance from the river, a branch of

which called the Falláli (the dry bed formed the field of the late glorious action) runs close under the walls, and is planted on its banks with some very beautiful gardens. Hyderabad was erected by Ghúlam Shah of the Kalora dynasty, on the site of the ancient Neirunkót, famous as being the first fort which yielded to the Mahommedan arms on the invasion of Sindh. The fort and citadel were solely appropriated to the use of the Amirs and their families, and here they resided in independent state and with separate establishments. In Asiatic warfare Hyderabad would be deemed almost impregnable; but its formidable appearance belies its real strength: the walls are mounted with some heavy pieces of ordnance, and surmount a rocky hill which has been scarped. In Lieutenant Burne's "Bokhara" there is a very accurate view of the Sindhian capital taken by Captain Grindlay from the Falláli branch of the river; it is about three miles from the main stream. To the westward of the town, (which by the way, although the capital is of the most poverty-stricken and miserable appearance,) are some beautiful tombs of the Talpúr chiefs, the marble fret-works in the interior of which have always excited the admiration of the visitor.

Eastward of Hyderabad is Mírpúr, the stronghold of a chieftain of the Talpúr house, and still further towards the desert, Omarkót, noted as the birth-place of the illustrious Akbar: this was long looked upon as the depository of the accumulated wealth of the Kaloras and Talpúrs, and the point

in which the chiefs would make a stand in case of an invasion of their country.

Sehwun, built on the extremity of a spur from the Bilúchi range which here juts into the river, is the only portion of Sindh recognizable as described by the Greeks, and an old fortification that now stands had its origin probably in Alexander's expedition: it was always a place of military importance, as it commands the passage of the river ; but it is now much dilapidated and of trifling extent. It is held in great sanctity by pious Mahommedans, from the gorgeous tomb of a noted saint who was buried here, and whose fame is universal also throughout India and the countries adjacent to Sindh. The town is infested with religious mendicants and beggars of every description, and coupled with its sanctity it has also, inconsistently enough, a high reputation for its courtezans. For heat, filth, and a disreputable population Sehwun is pre-eminently dsitinguished, as before observed: it is the boundary between the two great divisions of the country, and is the capital of a district known as Sewistan.

Beyond Sehwun is the large town of Larkhana, containing about 5000 inhabitants, the capital of one of the most fertile districts in Sindh, being that watered by the Indus, and the large branch called the Narrah before mentioned: it throws off below Sukkur. Larkhana, like most of the towns in Sindh, presents a miserable and dilapidated appearance, though it bears evident marks of having been at one time a place of considerable size and importance.

a large canal from the river affords means of water communication during the floods. This and Sehwun are on the western bank; on the eastern is Khyrpúr, the capital of Upper Sindh, and the seat of government of that portion of the family who divided the possession of this country, under a singular system of participation in power. Khyrpur is a small and insignificant place, though situated in a very rich country; near this was the seat of government of the old Hindú rajahs, from whom the country was conquered by the Moslems. About sixteen miles south of Khyrpúr is Diji, the stronghold of another member of the Talpur family, who rules independently in baronial style: it is surrounded by a wall and fortifications, and is in the Mirwah branch of the Indus navigable only for about three months in the year.

In the centre of the stream, nearly opposite Rorí, is the celebrated fort of Bukkur, and on the western bank Sukkur now designated " Victoria on the Indus:" the latter is the site of a British cantonment, and being situated on an elevated spot overlooking and commanding the passage of the stream, is in every way advantageous for the purpose required; these are important points in Sindh, and on the river, whose scenery by the way at this particular part assumes the most picturesque appearance. There are few finer views in the world perhaps than that of the mighty Indus at this part of its course. The eastern bank is clothed with beautiful gardens (celebrated by Persian poets as those of Buburlú)

of date, acacia, pomegranate, and other trees. These extend for many miles down the stream. The old fort of Bukkur, round which the river rushes with immense velocity, is situated on a high rocky island evidently disengaged from both banks by the action of the stream, which formerly took a more eastern direction at this part of its course, for the ruins of the old Hindú capital still to be seen are ten miles to the eastward of Bukkur, yet that city was situated on the Indus, and the old bed of the river is distinctly to be traced.

Opposite Sukkur is the old town of Rorí, built high and overhanging the stream; it was formerly a place of great size and commercial importance, but now reduced by the rapacity of the Khyrpúr Amirs. On the small hills and islands near Rorí are some very beautiful tombs of Mahommedan saints, one of which is said to be so sacred to every thing Sindhian, that the fish of the river, particularly the Pulah, pay respect to it, by never turning their tails when receding from it! Sukkur, Rorí, and Bukkur are esteemed very sacred by the Mahommedans: they had formerly large colleges and establishments of Seyuds and holy men, whose minarets and tombs still contribute to add to the picturesque appearance of this part of Sindh. A pretty building, occupied as the residence of the British authority, is erected on the western bank. This is also the head-quarters of our steamers and flotilla on the Indus; the British sailor here mixes in the groups of swarthy Sindhians, Parsi traders, Punjaubis,

Bilúchis, and Hindustanis. Our position has infused a degree of animation and bustle into the place, which is very un-Sindhian; a large force is stationed here, and it is proposed to erect barracks and other accommodation for European troops. The large military bazaar at Sukkur is a very busy and varied scene: the poor traders of the country here seek an asylum from oppression and extortion not to be found elsewhere; and if matters in Sindh had remained on their old footing, we might, by simple invitation, have attracted the bulk of the trade of the upper country to this particular spot.

Shikarpúr, the great mart of Sindh, and the city of greatest commercial importance beyond the Indus, from its extensive banking influence over the whole of Central Asia as well as other countries, is situated about 24 miles N. W. from the river at Sukkur, on the high road to Candahar, by the great pass of the Bolan. We had a large establishment and a considerable force here so long as our armies were beyond the Affghan passes; but on their withdrawal, the necessity no longer appearing to exist, we abandoned Shikarpúr. Its position will always give it a direct influence on the trade of the Indus and countries beyond; it shares with Múltan the title of one of the Gates of Khorassan, and contains 22,000 inhabitants, according to an accurate census taken by the author: it is walled in, but is in a very dirty and dilapidated state; the large bazaar, for which it is famous, is half a mile in extent, and the walls make a circuit of nearly three

miles. A rich country extends for about twenty miles, and then all is a mere desert; and the extent of Sindh is here defined by the territories of the Kílat chief and his predatory subjects. Subzulkót, the last remaining place of any moment, is about 60 miles above Rorí on the same side of the river: the town is a fort of moderate size, but the lands in the vicinity are valuable from their great productiveness, particularly in cotton. The Daodpútra country here commences.

Though the above constitute nearly all the towns in Sindh of any size, or such as may be considered worthy of present notice, there are numerous others of smaller dimensions, and a great number of what are called *Tundras* or *Tundas*, which are the chief places in districts held as jahgirs by Bilúchi chiefs, Zamindars, or Seyuds, and other sacred characters, and which always bear the title of the party to whom the grant was originally made. There is very little deviation in the general character of the towns in Sindh: nearly all are surrounded with walls, which are intended to be fortifications, but are of a very rude kind, and in complete disrepair, being built of mud, about twenty feet high, and pierced for matchlocks; in the centre of the place is a bastion or citadel overlooking the surrounding country. The Jutts and pastoral classes fold their flocks outside, under the walls, against which they build their reed huts. Every place in Sindh swarms with village curs, the Pariahs of India; and

these, in the absence of any police, are valuable, as keeping a constant and vigilant watch. The Wands, or moveable villages of the pastoral population, are generally composed of reed mats stretched across rough boughs of the tamarisk: such are also the materials generally employed by the fishermen and others living on the banks of the river; the houses are generally of one story, and flat-roofed; in the cities the dwellings are upper-roomed, the apartments small and ill ventilated. It is impossible to conceive any thing so filthy as the interior of a Sindhian town: every inhabitant makes a common sewer of the front of his dwelling; the narrow passage, scarcely admitting a laden camel, is nearly blocked up with dung heaps, in which recline in lazy ease packs of fat Pariah dogs, from whom the stranger, particularly a Christian (they are true Moslems these dogs), need expect little mercy. Flies are so plentiful, that the children's faces are nearly hidden by them, and it is utterly impracticable in a butcher's or grocer's shop to discern a particle of what is exposed for sale. Add to these mere outlines, crowded streets of filthy people, an intolerable stench, and a sun which would roast an egg; some faint idea may be formed of a Sindhian town or city: the inhabitants generally sleep on the roofs of their houses for coolness.

One main street constituting the bazaar is always a principal feature in a place of any size. These bazaars have mats and other coverings

stretching from house to house, as a protection against the fierce rays of the sun. Except the bazaars of Grand Cairo, few places of a similar kind present such vivid, strange, and yet interesting groups, as the great street of Shikarpúr, frequented as it is by the merchants of both Central Asia and those of Eastern and Western India: the full pressure of business generally takes place about four o'clock; and then amidst clouds of dust, in an atmosphere of the most stifling closeness, and amid the loud din of perfect chapmanship, may be seen some of the most characteristic features of the society of the East.

The haughty Moslem, mounted on his fine Khorassan steed, decorated with rich trappings, himself wearing the tall Sindhian cap of rich brocade, and a scarf of gold and silk, jostles through the crowd, between whom a way is opened by the Sindhian soldiers, who precede and follow him; then follows the Affghan, with a dark blue scarf cast over his breast, his long black hair falling in masses on his shoulders, his olive cheek tinted by the mountain breeze, and his eye full of fire and resolve. We have also the Seyud of Pishín in his goat's-hair cloak, the fair Heratí, the merchant of Candahar, with flowing garments and many-coloured turban, the tall Patan with heavy sword, and mien calculated to court offence, while among the rest is the filthy Sindhian, and the small, miserable-looking, cringing Hindú, owning perhaps lacs in the neigh-

bouring streets, but fearing the exactions of the Amirs. These present a fair sample of the groups who crowd the principal street of Shikarpúr; but we miss the wild Bilúchi with his plaited hair and ponderous turban, his sword, matchlock, and high-bred mare; but the freebooter of the desert loves not cities, and is rarely seen in them.

A very large portion of the population of Sindh, however, are pastoral, particularly in the neighbourhood of Cutch to the eastward, and westward towards the desert and hills they occupy a rude description of hut, made of reeds and moveable at pleasure; the dryness of the atmosphere admits of this. Sindh was formerly more extensive in a northerly direction, but the rapacity of the late Rajah of Lahore, Runjit Sing, stripped the indolent Amirs of many points on the river verging on his dominions, to which latter these have been annexed: such are Kín Kashmor and Rozan, ports of considerable trade, on the western bank above Sukkur, but now appertaining to the Punjaub monarchy. The earlier histories of Sindh describe many large cities, and indeed a degree of populousness and prosperity since departed.

The "Chuch Nameh," which is the principal Persian manuscript authority consulted in the history of Sindh, to be hereafter alluded to, says that "this territory extended to the east as far as Cashmir and Kunúj; west to Mikran and the sea; south to the territories of the ports of Surat and Deo; and north to Candahar, Seistan, and the

mountains of Súliman, Girwan, and Kynakán," which is certainly an immense kingdom, embracing, indeed, nearly the whole of the north-west frontier on and beyond the Indus, and comprising a great portion of Guzírat. The whole country is subdivided into districts, in most of which is a small fort, constituting the principal point in such district: here the revenue servants of government, or the chieftains in feudatory state, take up their abode. The revenue divisions of Sindh are also in many parts guided by the canals and other outlets of inundation from the river, such means of fertility giving titles elsewhere only applied to Pergunnans or districts.

Roads communicate with Sindh from Cutch at various points across the Runn of Cutch and Thurr, or little desert, travelled by the merchants who trade in ghee between the two countries;—from Sonmiani by the small pass through the mountains westward of Karrachi, a distance of about 50 miles, used by the Kilat traders, as Sonmiani is the road to Lus, Beila and Kilat. From Jeysulmir across a desert tract eastward from Khyrpúr in Northern Sindh, distance about 150 miles; by this route also the traders between Pali in Marwar and Sindh carry on their traffic; from Candahar through the Bolan pass across the deserts of Catchi to Shikarpúr; this immediate means of communicating with the upper country, or as it is styled in general terms Khorassan, gives a particular value to Sindh:

at no other point can this be effected with a land carriage of only 250 miles. There is also a road to the Indus near Sehwun or Larkhana from the Upper Bilúch country through the Gundava pass. From Mittunkot, Múltan, Dhera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Ismael Khan, Lahore, and the whole of the ports or marts on the Indus, or Punjaub, by the banks of the stream. From Bhawulpúr by way of Khanpúr and Subzulkót, these latter land routes are used during the inundations when tracking against the stream is a lengthy and tedious operation: at other times the river Indus or the five streams, its tributaries, is the line of communication with Sindh from all places to its north, north-east, and north-west, accessible by their means.



CHAP. III.

Classification of the Inhabitants of Sindh. — Mahommedans. — Jutts and cultivating Tribes. — Bilúchi military Class. — Feudatories. — Obedience to Chiefs. — Costume. — Women. — Arms. — Character. — Music and Nautch Women. — Seyuds or Holy Men. — Probable Jewish Origin of Bilúchis. — Passion for Field Sports. — Expense of preserving Game. — Names of Bilúch Tribes in Sindh. — Míani Fishermen and Boatmen on the Indus.

UNTIL the conquest of Sindh by the Mahommedans in the year of the Hejira 93 (A. D. 711) the government and country was purely Hindú, but its fanatical invaders, after expelling the aboriginal inhabitants from their principal cities, either compelled them to embrace the faith of Islam, or drove them to seek shelter among the fastnesses of the western mountains.

The inhabitants of Sindh under the late rule of the Amirs may, as in India, be classed Mahommedans and Hindús: of the former are Bilúchis, Jutts, and other peaceable classes, the warlike and the agricultural, or the industrious and the predatory, the aggregate being Mahommedans; for although a very considerable number of Hindús are to be

found in the principal towns and all over Sindh, they are naturalised foreigners, induced to settle in the country by its commerce, their wealth giving them the sufferance of Government; at the same time they are tyrannically oppressed both religiously and socially.

The principal of the cultivating and pastoral classes in Sindh are the Jutts, who in all probability are the aboriginal Hindú inhabitants converted to Islamism.

The Jutts, like all the tribes in these countries, are divided into innumerable subdivisions called *Koums*, and are a hard-working oppressed race, occupying themselves in rearing camels, feeding flocks, or cultivating the soil.

They are invariably found in large communities, often living in temporary huts or Wands, and migrate all over Sindh and its confines as shepherds in search of pasture. Where this is not the case, they are farming servants either of the Bilúchi chiefs or wealthy Zamindars, who repay their labour with a modicum of the produce.

In some few instances only throughout Sindh does this class obtain any distinction, and then it is as considerable farmers and cultivators.

The Jutts are a quiet inoffensive class, and exceedingly valuable subjects to the Sindh state, but have hitherto been much depressed. Their women are throughout the country noted for their beauty and, to their credit be it also spoken, for

their chastity. They work as hard as the men, and the labour of tending, driving home their flocks, milking the cattle, &c. is fairly divided. The Jutts are very numerous, and form a large division of the population of Sindh, though seldom found in the towns, but dispersed over the whole face of the country, particularly eastward to the desert tract which separates Sindh from Cutch, known as the Runn on which this tribe rear large flocks of camels. There are other pastoral and peaceable classes besides the Jutts of Mahommedan persuasion, such as the Khosas in Upper Sindh, Seik Lobana in the Delta, and emigrants from the Punjaub, who have in many instances become amalgamated with the people of the country. The Khosas become a predatory tribe on the eastern confines of Sindh, verging towards the Cutch territories, where they are very troublesome. There are also on the eastern boundaries Rajpúts located as wandering herdsmen. The Daodpútras who inhabit generally the country of that name in the north are to be met with in various parts of Sindh. The Sumahs are Jutts, though they are generally known by the former title. Such are also the Machis and numerous other subdivisions of the Jutt tribes.

The Jutt is as inseparable from the camel throughout Sindh, as the Arab from his horse in Arabia; they are invariably camel drivers and feeders, and are consulted on every occasion where

the health or efficiency of this invaluable animal is in question.

The Bilúchis of Sindh are the dominant party as the latest conquerors of the country, and came from the mountainous regions to the westward, invited by the rich valley of the Indus; they are feudatory holders of the soil, an indolent and insolent race, before whom even the late ruling princes were obliged to quail; for with arms in their hands, and looking upon the country as their own, their chiefs being in a measure electivė, they exercised unbounded control over the administration of the affairs of the country, constituting a complete military despotism.

There are innumerable divisions and subdivisions of the Bilúchi tribes in Sindh, all tracing a common origin, however, to those now living in the western mountains, and all looking up to certain tribes as their superiors, such as the Rinds and others, who are located in Catchi beyond Gundava. In this way there is much of that family pride amongst them, which in India, and amongst the Rajpúts answers to caste. The Bilúchis in Sindh are not so muscular or large statured as their brethren of the colder mountainous region of Kilat and Catchi, though they are powerful and athletic for Asiatics.

The chiefs are many of them commanding and dignified, though haughty in their bearing and manner, but, as a class generally, they are bar-

barously ignorant even to a proverb, wild, and untractable. A Bilúchi would unhesitatingly beard the Amirs of Sindh in open durbar, when his feelings were at all excited, for he acknowledges no respect of persons.

The Bilúchis are Jahgirdars and feudatories, occupying forts, or, rather, fortified villages, throughout the whole country. The constant feuds which are occurring between tribes renders this precaution absolutely necessary. The chiefs of any distinction generally live at or near the capital, visiting their farms or jahgirs as occasion may require. The Bilúchis are not a working people; they will only occupy themselves in breeding and rearing cattle and horses, but the cultivation of the soil is left to be carried on by the labour of the Jutt.

Some of the Bilúchi villages, or Tundas, are respectable in appearance; but, very generally, a mere shed, shared in common with the horses and cattle, forms the whole of their dwelling, a portion being screened off for the use of the women and family; the fort, or best dwelling in the village, being appropriated to the chief.

The ancient pastoral practice of vesting authority in the head of the community, as of the father of a family, is fully practised by the Bilúchis in Sindh: each tribe will obey its chief alone; his opinion being held as law, and his voice sufficient to settle any questions. not only for peace or war, but also

those of internal dissension. An order from the Amirs of Sindh themselves would only have influenced the body of the Bilúchi tribes, when received through their chiefs.

On any signal for a general rising, a swift camel carries the news from tribe to tribe, and from 20,000 to 30,000 armed men could be collected in a few days, every man being at all times prepared for war: in its practice they have no rules, and the strongest man is the best soldier.



Though living on the fat of the land, and passing a life of sloth and indolence, the Bilúchis have no appearance of luxury or comfort about them; their dwellings generally are poor, and as filthy and

miserable as those of the Jutts; their women are very plain and coarse, little cared for, and perfect slaves to their lords, performing every menial office, whilst the lazy Bilúchi passes his whole time in smoking, drinking, or sleeping. The Bilúchi dress is a loose shirt and exceedingly wide drawers, after the old Turkish fashion; the former reaching to the knees, and, when in full costume, they add a waistband of silk or coloured cotton, always of gaudy colours;—such is also twisted round the cap when travelling. The head is not shaved, as usual with Mahommedans; but the hair, on the cultivation and growth of which, like the Seikhs, they are very proud, is twisted into a knot at the top of the head. The hill Bilúchis wear it long over the shoulders, which imparts a very wild appearance: it is never allowed to become grey, but both sexes dye it with a preparation of senna and indigo. After a certain age, Seyuds and holy men affect red beards, and the "orange tawny" is by no means uncommon. Seyuds are distinguished also by green garments, the colour of the prophet. The turban has been superseded throughout Sindh by a cap, which in form looks something like an inverted English hat, made of bright-coloured silk or brocade, and is a bad imitation of a Persian head-dress. The Bilúchis are of dark complexion, handsome features, with fine eyes; prone to corpulency, which is encouraged, to a ridiculous extent, as a great mark of beauty. The late head

of the reigning family, Mir Nasir Khan, was considered the handsomest man in the country, and was scarcely able to walk from redundancy of flesh, though quite in the prime of life.

The dress of Bilúchi women, in common with that of the country generally, is a full petticoat, gathered in at the waist, and trowsers, a cloth which covers the bosom, being tied round the neck and under the arms, leaving the back exposed: the head is protected by a loose mantle, which is also thrown round the person. The Bilúchis seldom change their garments, and they are often dyed blue to hide the dirt, and this in one of the hottest climates of the East, and among the pretenders to a religion in which cleanliness is ordained as a law.

The arms of the Bilúchis are the matchlock, sword, and shield, with a great paraphernalia of pouches belts, steel, flint, &c. round the waist; in the use of weapons they are very expert, though they pride themselves particularly on their skill as swordsmen, always preferring hand-to-hand combat, rushing in on their foe under shelter of their large shields. The bravery of the Bilúchis has always been lightly esteemed, but although late events have proved, in addition to former instances, that they cannot cope with the steady discipline of our troops, they have now fairly earned a name for courage, which was not formerly conceded to them, yet your true soldier is seldom a worthless pretender, and it is impossible to imagine a greater braggart than a Sindh Bilúchi.

The Bilúchis are expert marksmen, and are trained to arms at an early age, but as before observed they rely on the sword, and on a late occasion verified what a former able commentator in the country predicted, "that their country would derive little military renown if reduced to depend on that arm." At Miani they threw away their matchlocks and rushed on the bayonets of our troops. The gallant Sir Charles Napier says in his admirable dispatch, "The brave Bilúchis first discharging their match cks and pistols dashed over the bank with desperate resolution, but down went these bold and skilful swordsmen under the superior power of the musket and bayonet." No man of any rank, and no Bilúchi in Sindh, is considered dressed without his sword,—it is as necessary a portion of his costume as his cap or turban. They are very expert at the bow, and a blunt description of arrow, which they shoot transversely and with unerring aim, knocking down small game with the precision of a good shot handling a fowling-piece.

A description of pony called a Yabú, is commonly ridden by the Bilúchis; it is a hardy and very valuable animal for carriage and burthen, but utterly useless for warlike purposes. The endurance of fatigue of these animals exceeds belief; they are amazingly swift and well adapted for the predatory purposes to which they are applied by the Bilúchi, who is a robber from his birth. The love of plunder is so inherent in these people, that it has

been said that even the chiefs and wealthy men will traverse the country in disguise, for the mere purpose of indulging in a love of crying "stand" to the passing traveller, and though ignorant in the extreme even of the faith they profess, are so intolerant, that an unfortunate Hindú seldom quits the society of such travellers without having paid the penalty of circumcision as a return for mixing with the aristocracy of the country.

In the lower portions of Sindh, the mountains, which approach the river, are inhabited by the Bilúchi tribes of Jokias and Númrias who form a distinct class from those who dwell in the plains: these tribes are restless and troublesome, though the merchant or traveller can always purchase their protection at a comparatively small cost, and this done they are very faithful to their engagements.

In common with most of the same barbarous classes of society, whatever part of the world they inhabit, the Bilúchis acknowledge the rights of hospitality, and never fail to entertain the stranger; and after he has shared their evening meal, they sit with him round their blazing fire, or under the bright moonlight, and amuse him with rude songs or wilder tales of predatory deeds.

The Bilúchi character is a singular one, and requires some study to appreciate, for while a Bilúchi appears stupid, lazy, and apathetic to the last degree, delighting in tobacco, opium, and a

fierce spirit extracted from the date, yet he may, like the Arab, be rendered tractable by a well-timed jest, for there is rude humour about them, and a capacity for appreciating mimicry and ridicule. The Bilúchis, like the Rajpúts of Cutch and the neighbouring states, entertain bards and troubadours, who sing of the deeds of their ancestors. The Lúris are a particular tribe who follow this vocation. It is impossible to imagine any thing so barbarous as the music and singing of the country. It is bad enough in India, where discord is considered to rule supreme, but the long howl, like a cry of intense agony, with which a Bilúch song commences at each verse, defies all comparison with any other description of *melody!* whatsoever. Yet all classes are so engrossed by this wild chant that they may be seen seated in parties for a whole day and night listening to it. The instruments are the *tom-tom* (common drum of India), the cymbals, and a rude species of guitar made from the dried gourd, and very like the sitarrah of India. The Hindú music is not better than elsewhere. Nautching is much patronised in Sindh, and every town of importance is well supplied with these professional *danseuses*. No entertainment is complete without an exhibition of this kind, the monotony of which is somewhat questionably broken by the ladies imbibing largely, during the performance, of spirits to excite them to greater exertion. The quantity

these women will drink of a fiercely intoxicating liquor (prepared from sugar or the date), without any apparent effect, is quite surprising. The Nautch women of Sindh are very handsome: they are of course (as in India) courtesans, and some accumulate great wealth. These ladies make their way every where; and it is characteristic of the strange and barbarous state of court etiquette in Sindh, that at the Durbar of the Amirs, which was thronged with truculent Bilúchis, swaggering Patans, and armed retainers, jostling each other without any respect of the princely presence, that above all the din so created rose the notes of Persian songs shrieked forth by bands of Nautch girls, who occupied the remoter parts of the Hall of Audience.

The Bilúchi women, in the details of every-day life, fulfil the most servile domestic duties, as if they were considered as the mere slaves of their lazy lords; but when any occasion arises for exertion, when a foray is to be undertaken, or a difficulty escaped, the Bilúchi women are taken into council, and possess considerable influence.

The Pirs Seyuds and other characters of pretended Moslem sanctity who infest Sindh, occupy a most important position amongst its inhabitants. From the Amirs, downwards, all Mahommedans being profoundly ignorant of any but the common forms of their religion, place implicit faith in the holiness of spiritual pastors and the efficacy of

their devotion. The consequence is that lazy Seyuds and worthless professors of religious zeal are patronised in Sindh to a degree elsewhere unknown: they are essentially a priest-ridden people; and an early writer, in describing their character, says, "That the Sindhian shows no liberality but in feeding lazy Seyuds, no zeal but in propagating the faith, no spirit but in celebrating the Ede (festival), and no taste but in ornamenting old tombs." Some of the finest portions of the country are held in "*Inam*," or gift, by these men, and every Bilúchi chieftain and tribe has its *Pir Múrshid* or spiritual pastor, who collects a certain fee in kind for his holy offices. Khorassan, Cabúl, Pishín in Central Asia, Persia, and all parts of India, contribute their quota of these blood-suckers, who are sure to be handsomely provided for in Sindh: many of them, indeed, have become exceedingly wealthy, and attained such influence, that they are said to have possessed the right of entrée to the harem of the Amirs — a privilege which the chiefs themselves, if report speaks true, could not always demand. The country is at the same time literally pestered with travelling religious mendicants of all degrees, from the halt and blind to the sturdy and armed fakir: it is by no means unusual to be accosted by one of these latter, well mounted and fully equipped, who demands from the peasant a portion of his hard-earned meal with a tone and gesture plainly in-

dicating that resistance would be in vain. The tombs of these canonised worthies are the only buildings of any note in the country: they are, unlike all others, erected of permanent materials, and form places of pilgrimage to all true believers. The well-known Persian motto as applied to Múltan is in full force in Sindh — "Sindh may be known by four things, *heat*, *dust*, *beggars*, and *tombs*."

It is remarkable, as Colonel (now Sir Henry) Pottinger states, that he discovered among the Bilúchis many customs of the laws of Moses, particularly as affected their moral institutions of marriage, and says, that tradition, oral and written, assigns them an Israelite descent as a branch of the Affghans. One or two of the instances of resemblance between the laws of the Bilúchis and the ancient Jews are certainly remarkable, from whatever source they may have originated. Thus, that in the event of a death of a woman's husband, his brother is bound to marry her, and the children are the heirs of the deceased †: if a married woman elope, she and her paramour are to be put to death, "that evil may be put away," or full expiation made; and a man may only repudiate his wife, according to rules similar to those of the Jewish covenant.

These circumstances are curious, and eminently

* See "Pottinger's Bilúchistan."

† See Deuteronomy, xxv. 5.

interesting; more particularly so at the present period, when the traces are so eagerly sought by men of learning and research for the lost tribes of Israel. Colonel Pottinger, who was well acquainted with Bilúchi manners, evidently inclines to the opinion that, although changed much by many external circumstances, such as the frequent conquest of Bilúchistan by Persia, Hindostan, and other invaders, that yet the Bilúchis may have preserved some of their ancient laws, and that these laws were not Moslem of the Koran, but Jewish of the covenant.

It would be dangerous to offer any opinion on a point of so much difficulty; the Bilúchis themselves strongly deny any thing approaching to a Jewish origin, but are desirous to be considered always of the Arab stock, with whom they have constantly, in olden times, made alliances; and in all inquiries made to ascertain if any Jews among the Affghan population were to be found in the large towns of Sindh or Catchi, the result has been a negative. There is much in the appearance and mien of the Bilúchis essentially Jewish; not so, it is true, as compared with the small-made, cringing, sinister countenanced Jew of England, but with the Jew of Bagdad, of Palestine, of the East generally, where he is seen tall in stature, noble, but prominent in feature, and most graceful in his loose robes, and proud demeanour. It is not generally known from whence the Bilúchis emi-

grated, but they are decidedly foreigners. They are generally supposed to have come from Mikran; but it is, I think, beyond all question that although their general habits assimilate them with the Arabs, their appearance is essentially Jewish. In figure, the Bilúchi is usually large and muscular, his complexion dark, and his nose remarkably aquiline. His eyes are large and expressive; not the quick, small, fiery eyes of the Arab, but eminently handsome, although too often betraying powerful and evil feeling. The hair is worn long, and falls in bushy ringlets over the back and shoulders, a ponderous turban being twisted round the head, and plaits of coarse hair sometimes seen entwined with the folds. The dress is of heavy white cloth, commonly brown from long service, and its fashion deserves remark: it bears no resemblance either to the Mohammedan, the Hindú, the Persian, or the Affghan, neither the Arab; but is formed of a short-waisted, tight-fitting body and sleeves, with an enormously full petticoat attached, precisely similar to those worn by the ancient Jews.* The Bilúchis, however, do not observe the Israelite law of not wearing linen or woollen together†, as they frequently add a cloak of goat's hair in the winter; but this they may have learnt as the custom of the tribes about them. No dress can be imagined so unsuited to their present habits of life,

* See Calmet's Illustrations of the Bible.

† See Deuteronomy, xxii.

or their hot and dusty country, as this of the Bilúchis; it is, however, still preserved. In the Arab fashion, they suspend over this dress an innumerable quantity of arms, belts, powder flasks, &c., with a sword, shield, and matchlock. The belts, ball pouches, and other appendages are tasteful and picturesque accoutrements, being made in various forms, and embroidered in coloured silks, with numerous fringes, ornaments, and tassels attached.

The above description of costume and general appearance applies to the Western Hill Bilúchis, where they are more primitive in their habits than those of the plains located in Sindh Proper; in the northern parts of that country, however, the Bilúchi retains his original characteristics. The Bilúchi emigrates, and as a mercenary soldier is to be met with in many parts of Western India, and ranks next to the Arab in this capacity.

Before dismissing the Bilúchis, I must not omit to mention their love of field sports. From the Mirs downwards, this is the ruling passion; the country is completely sacrificed to it, and Sindh may be said to be one large hunting preserve, so small a proportion does the cultivated land bear to that appropriated to the purposes of breeding game. On the occasion of the British representative, Colonel Pottinger's negociating a treaty with the Amirs, they particularly stipulated that they should have protection for their sports, and stated,

that every head of deer killed in Sindh was calculated to cost 800 rupees (80*l.* sterling): this is certainly not an exaggeration, but, on the contrary, were the districts occupied by dense jungles enclosed as preserves, and now only devoted to the wild boar, tiger, and other wild and dangerous animals, cleared for the purposes of fertility, the revenues of Sindh might be unlimited, and the cost of the game must therefore be estimated by the loss the country sustains to preserve it. All denominations of Bilúchis, however, are willing to forego anything and everything for this all-absorbing occupation; and it is the only motive, except war or plunder, which will rouse them from their general love of ease. Their method of pursuing these sports is, among the inferior classes, with dogs and spears; but with the princes and chiefs it is a very systematic and luxurious affair. The Amirs, seated in temporary huts erected for the occasion at the termination of one of the enclosed preserves, have the game driven towards them by an immense crowd of men, the inhabitants of the country being collected from every direction for this purpose. Thus the Hindú is forced from his shop and the Mahommedan husbandman from his plough, and detained for several days without food, or a farthing of remuneration for their services, but too often losing their lives, or sustaining serious injuries, merely to contribute to the sport of their rulers. Thus driven from their covert by the yells and

shrieks of the beaters, who, surrounding the sporting grounds armed with staves, and loudly beating drums, gradually close towards the centre, the poor frightened brutes in the preserves make towards the only path of escape left to them, which is an opening leading directly under the muzzles of the matchlocks of the sportsmen, who pour upon them a destructive fire. The mass and variety of game that is forced from the shelter of the jungle by this means is most surprising, for not only does it include numerous hogs and black buck, the nobler sport, but great varieties of smaller game, the beautiful cotah-pacha, with foxes, hares, &c. in abundance. Hawking is also a very general sport throughout the country, for the capture of the beautiful black partridge, very similar in plumage to that of Cutch, abounding both in the interior and on the banks of the Indus.

The chiefs of Hyderabad were in the habit of quitting their capital during a greater portion of the year, abandoning every affair of state and the most important duties to pass long periods in their hunting grounds. With them all interests, whether political or social, were subservient to these, of which they said, "We consider our Shikargahs of greater moment to us than our wives and children." Their conversation on all occasions turned on this topic alone, and a visit to the Amirs on the most important question of state affairs was sure to end in an invitation to accompany them to their hunting

grounds. The principal tribes of Bilúchis located in Sindh are the Murris, Khosahs, Umranis, Lakís, Chandias, Mughsis, Jalbanís, Talpúrs, Káloras, Jattois, Muzaris, Jokias, Numrias, Rinds, Kurmattis, Búrdis, and a few others; the parent country enumerates forty-eight original tribes. The strength of the Sindh army has generally been rated at 50,000 men.

The Moana or Míani tribe of fishermen and boatmen, who find occupation and subsistence on the river Indus, form a third class of the Mahommedan population of Sindh, and form a large tribe, apart from either the Jutt cultivator or the turbulent Bilúchi, though it is usual to style as Sindhians all classes generally who inhabit the country: this has been hitherto observed by all travellers passing through it. The Míanis (or Moanas) are the most active and athletic race in Sindh, with a buoyancy of spirits and generally frank bearing unknown to the other classes. Many of them as fishermen live, it may be said, *in* rather than *on* the river, but all have villages immediately on its banks, their boats and nets furnishing all that is required for their maintenance. In many parts of the stream, especially near the great lake Munchur, whole families of this class live entirely after the Chinese fashion in their boats, having no other habitation.

The women share the labour equally with the men, and a sturdy lass is generally seen steering or paddling the boat whilst the man works at the nets,

a child being often suspended in a net-work cot between the mast and rigging of the craft, which is always very small and light for the advantage of easier navigation amongst the shoals and creeks. All the lakes and estuaries formed by the inundations are crowded with this description of craft.

The navigation of the Indus is carried on by the Míani, and passing his life on the river he is the only pilot to be trusted in its intricate channel: connected with this people, the Pullah fishery, for which the Indus is so celebrated, deserves particular notice. First placing on the water a large earthen vessel, and commending it to the care of Allah, the fisherman casts himself on it in such a manner that the mouth of the vessel is completely closed by the pressure of his stomach; he then paddles himself by means of the action of his hands and feet into the centre of the stream, holding deep in the water a forked pole about fifteen feet in length, to which is attached a large net; in his girdle he carries a small spear, and a check-string attached to the net indicates the moment when a fish is entangled. The spear is used to kill the fish when drawn up after capture, and the jar receives the spoil.

The *Pullah* (the Hilsah of the Ganges in sable fish) swims against the stream. The fisherman therefore walks some miles up the river bank, and then floats down it until he has secured sufficient for his day's sale or consumption.

The Míanis, as may be conjectured, are a poor race, though exceedingly numerous. They are dissipated, and a large proportion of the courtesans and dancing women of the country are from this tribe ; they are of very dark complexion, but possess regular features, and some of the women would be considered remarkably handsome. The Míanis are also noted for the manufacture of mats and baskets, which are beautifully woven from the high reeds and strong grasses growing on the edge of the river ; this class, when found near towns and villages, occupy a distinct quarter, generally outside or apart from the other inhabitants. Here they sell spirits, and the men beat drums and sing whilst the women dance and perform all the usual acts of courtesanship calculated to allure the passing stranger.

CHAP. IV.

Affghans settled in Sindh. — Persians. — Various military Adventurers. — Hindús. — Lohanas and Bhatias — employed as Revenue Servants. — Disregard of Caste and Religion. — Dispersion over Countries to the North-west — In Sindh principally located at Karrachi and Shikarpúr. — Costumes and Manners. — Integrity in Cash Transactions. — Amount of Population in Sindh — Difficulty of estimating — Impoverished Condition of. — Character ascribed to Sindhians. — Language. — Slavery. — Modes of Salutation. — Influx of Foreigners. — Smoking universal. — Summary of Character. — Influencing Circumstances.

THE few Affghans who settled in Sindh from the period when it was a portion of the Cabul monarchy, have become so naturalised, and are so amalgamated with the other inhabitants, as to retain few distinctive marks: they may be generally classed as zamindars and cultivators. Nadir Shah, in his passage through Sindh in A. D. 1740, left behind him many Persians, who settled in the country, and these families have become in many instances wealthy and influential. Adventurers from Persia generally managed at a later period to bring their deceit and plausibility to a good market with the credulous Amirs, whose court was consequently always well stocked with some of the reputed sons of Abbas Ali, and other noted characters,

so that a Persian haji became a *prince* in Sindh, though in all probability a *barber* in Ispahan!

In the retinues of the Amirs were to be found military mercenaries from every quarter of the East: the younger Amir of the Khyrpúr branch of the family boasted between three or four hundred Affghans, picked men, and had also a regular risallah (regiment) of Hindostan cavalry, clothed and accoutred much after the fashion of our Indian irregular horse. In short, fortune-hunters and needy vagabonds, of whom there is always a large proportion in every native court throughout India, found ample encouragement in Sindh: the more worthless, and the more these vagabonds blustered and swaggered, the more certain were they to become prime favourites of the credulous chiefs. And innumerable are the instances where the most worthless, intriguing, and designing characters were admitted to the especial confidence of the Amirs swaying their most important interests and affairs.

The bulk of the Mahommedan population are *Sunis*, though the chiefs practised the *Shiah* doctrines; the Koran is the rule of faith, and oaths are sworn by placing it on the head of the party. The sacred book can only be touched by a Seyud or Múlah, and an assembly always rises at its approach; the lowest orders affect the distinction of *hafiz*, or learner of the Koran by heart, and there are many such, though few even of the learned men of the country can expound a line of the text. It is

considered a most acceptable work to attend in the tombs and hear the Múlah read a chapter, or to pay ziaruts (pilgrimages) to the sainted shrines throughout the country. The evening prayer at sunset is scrupulously observed; the boatman rests on his oar, the fisherman from his vocation, the artisan from his work, and the Bilúchi from his murdering foray, to go through this ceremony. Dismounting from his horse or camel, and spreading his carpet, the traveller prostrates himself before the retiring orb of day, and the general effect of this simultaneous adoration is very striking. In Sindh the forms of religion are carried to an excess by the Moslems, in proportion to the absence of any real feeling. We may, however, charitably conclude that there are in Sindh, as elsewhere, those who conscientiously act up to the faith they profess, but experience, sooth to say, adds to the conclusion that the instances are few and far between.

The Hindús in Sindh bear evident traces of emigration to that country from Múltan, Amritsir, and other parts to the north; locating themselves on the banks of the Indus, as in Central Asia, they have become here, as elsewhere, a highly valuable portion of the community, commanding by their commercial activity, habits of business, and energy, a certain respect despite the most unmeasured bigotry. They are still but a tolerated class, however, and nothing short of extreme cunning and perseverance could

enable them to exist in such a country as Sindh, where their wealth is the constant object of Mahommedan rapacity, and where they are only considered as dogs in the eyes of the true believers; they are divided into two great classes, *Lohanas*, and *Bhatias*. The whole of the trade of Sindh, from the extensive mercantile and banking transactions of Shikarpúr, to the smallest supplier of the ordinary wants of life, are in the hands of the Hindús. Their command of ready money gives them also a certain power over the rulers, who, looking only to the revenue of the country as a means of present gratification, are too happy to farm its resources to these Soucars (as the Hindú traders are called) for any sum which may be immediately commanded. In these transactions the Hindú always runs the greatest risk of being called upon to disgorge any profits he may amass, and he knows that his bonds and contracts with Mahommedan chiefs are so much waste paper; but he makes his calculations accordingly, and, despite power and despotism, never fails to accumulate wealth at the expence of the profligacy of the rulers.

Hindús, from their intelligence and habits of business, are also employed by the government throughout Sindh as revenue servants of every description, but all such are obliged to wear the beard and turban, adopting in their exterior so completely the Mahommedan garb and demeanour.

that they are no longer recognizable. In Sindh and the countries north-west of the Indus generally, the Hindú is not particular as to caste or religion, and his constant neglect of both would indeed horrify the stricter brother of the same faith in India, but in such situations it is in vain to attempt to preserve purity, and the trial would only induce additional persecution. The few Brahmins or Gúrús in this country are of the Sarsat caste, and occasionally a temple to Mahadiú is to be seen; but only at Shikarpúr are the Hindús allowed to celebrate their festivals or religious rites: during the Mohurrum and other Mahommedan fasts or feasts, they are obliged to shut up their shops all over the country. The ass is used by the Hindús in Sindh for carriage and travelling; in India the animal cannot be touched without defilement. It is curious to observe that in the neighbouring country of the Punjaub, the Mussulman is as much degraded, and treated with the same intolerance by a Hindú heresy, as the Hindú is by the Moslem in Sindh.

Hindús are dispersed over the whole of Sindh: in the wildest fastnesses of the Bilúchi mountains, in the deserts and smallest collection of huts in the jungles of the plains, a Hindú and his shop of tobacco, spices, groceries, or cloths, is sure to be found; but their principal localities are in Northern Sindh at Shikarpúr, and in Southern at the port of Karrachi. The former has at all times held a prominent influence over the trade of the countries

from the sea to the Caspian. The Hindú merchants or bankers have agents in the most remote parts of Central Asia, and could negociate bills upon Candahar, Kilat, Cabul, Khiva, Hírat, Bokhara, or any other of the marts in that direction. These agents, in the pursuit of their calling, leave Sindh for many years, quitting their families to locate themselves amongst the most savage and intolerant tribes, yet so essentially necessary are they to the wild Túrkoman, rude Affghan, or blood-thirsty Bilúchi, that they are, with trifling exceptions, generally protected. The smallest bargain even is never struck between two natives of these countries, without the intervention of the Hindú *Dillal* or broker; covering his hand with a large cloth, he runs backwards and forwards between the parties, grasping alternately the hand of each. The cloth is used to cover certain signs which are conveyed as to the amount offered by squeezing the joints of the fingers, which stand for units, tens, or hundreds, as the case may be: thus the bystanders are kept in the dark as to the price at which an article is sold, and irritation avoided at offering before others a lower sum than is expected would be taken.

At Karrachi, the principal port of Sindh, and therefore of the Indus and countries beyond it. the Hindús are very numerous and influential: here and at Shikarpúr they enjoy greater protection than in any other part of the Sindhian do

minions; for short-sighted and covetous though the Amirs were, they could yet estimate the value to the revenues of protecting, to a certain extent, those on whom all such as are derivable from trade, were entirely dependent; indeed many of the principal Hindú merchants who traded very extensively, could command abatement in tariffs, only granted to them with the obvious inducement to continue their transactions.

The Hindús in Sindh are of very fair complexion: a few of the wealthier live in comfortable style in the cities, but the poorer traders are a mean race, filthy in the extreme, having much of the abject shuffling manner of the Jew, as seen in countries where he is despised and oppressed: the costume differs little from that of the same class in India; the turban is occasionally large, after the Múltan fashion: all however studiously hide their wealth with the garb of poverty. The Hindú women in Sindh are considered as having some claims to regularity of features, but all are, if possible, dirtier in their persons and dwellings than the Mahommedans: the dress differs in nothing from that of the Mahommedan women.

The Hindú in Sindh is not the same orderly and respectable individual outwardly as his brother of the same faith in India: living in a state of society where he is only tolerated in proportion to his acceding to the customs of those about him, he has become half a Mahommedan in his habits and prac-

tices, as well as dirty and slovenly in his person, totally neglecting those rules of caste and religion, which have in India the peculiar merit of raising the Hindú above the debauched Moslem. In one point, however, in Sindh does this otherwise degraded class stand pre-eminent above those about him, and that is in the good faith and integrity shown in his mercantile and money transactions, when met with confidence by his employer. In dealing with the chiefs and government of Sindh, he is obliged to defeat indirect oppression by duplicity and double-dealing as his only chance of success or safeguard against violence; but this is by no means a fair criterion of his claims to a higher character for business under different situations. It is proverbial and a great proof of the honour of the Sindhian Soucars that their bills are always considered as cash in every part of the vast countries to the north-west, and are recognised as such all over India. This is the class in Sindh whom it will be our policy to foster and protect. The country, if it ever becomes of commercial importance, must be so through the Hindús: they have long striven against disadvantages which can only be understood by a comparison to the state of the Jews in England during certain periods of our history; but despite obstacles which would appear to be insurmountable, they have maintained their footing, and carried on the whole of the great and important trade between the Lower Indus and the

countries beyond the Affghan passes as far as Hirat and Bokhara. They have all the speculative energy adapted for extending commerce, and protection will alone be required to bring it forward.

The population of Sindh has been estimated in round numbers at about a million; but judging from those portions where actual inquiry has enabled us to test the correctness of former calculations, it would appear to be overrated at the above. In a country like Sindh, however, where there are comparatively few towns, one part of the population leading a wandering life, whilst another is dispersed over its river, it is difficult to arrive at any accurate conclusion with respect to numbers; but that Sindh is for its whole extent very thinly populated is obvious to the most superficial observation. The capital, Hyderabad, does not contain more than thirty-five thousand, whilst Shikarpúr, the next in size, formerly rated at thirty-five, was found to yield only twenty-two thousand. The numbers in most of the modern maps as annexed to the various places appear to be exaggerated, from the absence of correct information. In the large trading towns the Hindús bear a proportion of about one fourth to the Mahommedan, but in other parts of the country much less.

The condition of the mass of the people of Sindh is not commensurate with the advantages possessed: from the misappropriation of much of this fine

country, it only meets the wants of its scanty population, though no where can life be more easily maintained.

We shall see when we come to speak of the system of government of this province, that nothing can be so ill adapted to the development of its resources as that pursued under the late and previous possessors. The industrious portion of the population of Sindh well knew this, though apathetic as to change and generally contented with their lot. The Hindú traders and those of the inhabitants who were brought into contact with us imbibed a high respect for our character, in proportion as they experienced our good faith and conciliatory system. The force of example would have worked silently but surely. The Bilúchi and military classes had little to gain from our presence, which from the first was looked upon as likely to interfere with their legitimate rights and supremacy — yet were they quiet, and, if not cordial, at least inoffensive. This part of the subject, however, will have a more appropriate place elsewhere; and is only referred to here in order to show that in speaking of the government and administration of Sindh, we only treat it comparatively and relatively; and that though undeniably defective, it was yet only considered so by portions of the inhabitants, for the mass were ignorant as to any better form, and apathetic as to that they lived under.

Nothing so strikingly evinces the impoverished condition of this country generally as the primitive state in which the natives live throughout it: the capitals in Sindh would only rank with third or fourth-rate places in British Indian possessions, and the villages defy all comparison with any thing of the kind in India; in these latter even the mud and plaister materials used elsewhere, and which are so readily available, are not employed, but a few reed screens placed in any form over a few boughs of the neighbouring tamarisk bush furnish the dwelling. For miles even these scanty proofs of human location are not met with, and in short in a country where nature has proved so abundantly bountiful, the inhabitants in the mass are, if not poor, at least supplied only with those necessaries of life which the earth almost spontaneously produces, but if cultivated would bring forth to any extent.

The character of the inhabitants of Sindh, resulting from their degraded condition, is held by neighbouring states at an exceedingly low standard: our own idea of it will be found elsewhere They are said to be distinguished for indolence, cunning, and want of faith, are mean, knavish, and proud, appearing to "have imbibed the vices peculiar to the barbarity of the countries on one side, Bilúchistan, Mikran, &c., and the civilisation of Hindostan on the other, without the redeeming virtues of either:" they are active and enduring, but slothful when ne-

cessity does not drive them to exertion ; are social and very fond of sitting for hours together, smoking, talking, and drinking. Immorality, generally rife in Mahommedan countries, is not less so in Sindh. The inhabitants of all classes freely use spirits and intoxicating drugs, and are otherwise debauched; intrigue may be carried on to any extent, the only crime being detection: the woman caught in adultery is put to death, and the law permits it. The Hindú females are accused of being very lax, but in such a state of society, and separated, as many of them are for years, from their husbands, some allowance is to be made for Mahommedan prejudice, always strong against the unfortunate unbeliever. All classes eat animal food: the Mahommedans prefer goat's flesh to mutton: fish, rice, or juwari flour cakes form the principal nourishment of the lower and working classes. The shepherds and wandering tribes exist on milk, curds, and coarse flour.

The ignorance of this people, from the rulers downwards, is that of perfect barbarism: comparatively few Mahommedans in the country can read, much less write: the whole of the correspondence of government is carried on by the Hindús in the Persian language (in which also the records of every description are kept). The Bilúchi adds to the above character a certain degree of cruelty and love of plunder, coupled with a fierce demeanour, which has procured him to be held in particular

detestation, and he is considered as implacable in his revenge.

The language of Sindh is of Hindú origin, being a still greater corruption from the Sanscrit than that spoken in the Guzírat peninsula: it is written in a peculiar character, called the *Khuda Wadi*, and the Hindús keep all their own accounts and correspondence in it. The court employs vulgar Persian for records, petitions, and ceremonial purposes, though in common conversation they use the vernacular of the country. The Bilúchis have a peculiar dialect of their own, assimilating somewhat to the *Pushtú* spoken by the Affghans; but it is not a written or grammatical tongue, and so barbarous in sound, that the Sindhian accuses the Bilúchi of having learnt of his goats when he was a shepherd in the mountains of Kilat! Punjabi is much spoken in Sindh by traders, boatmen, and others from that country.

Slavery in a very mild form exists in Sindh: the natives of Zanzibar are brought to the country when very young, and are sold to the wealthier classes; but in Sindh, as elsewhere in the East, the term slavery does not imply a state of cruel or degrading bondage. Slaves are treated with great consideration, and often become the most influential members of a family. Slaves born whilst their parents are in bondage are the property of the master, and become so exceedingly attached to the place of their birth, and those to whom alone they

have been accustomed to look for protection, hat liberty would probably offer little inducement to them to change their present for what might be considered a more independent position. In the lower part of the river, some of the villages furnish a large proportion of African inhabitants.

Some of this class held offices of high trust and personal confidence about the Amirs, who would have confided in them rather than the members of their own family: many of their body servants were composed of the *Sidis* (as the African is styled in these countries). There is in Sindh a system of slavery common to it and all the countries to the north-west, viz. that of fathers selling their daughters as wives when very young, as also of the sale of girls for the zenanas of the wealthy. The Affghans are particularly distinguished for this traffic in Sindh, but it is after all very limited.

The mode of salutation between natives in Sindh is peculiar to the country, and indicates a very simple-mannered people; it consists in inquiries first after the health of the parties, then follows a string of questions after that of the family, succeeded by others as to the state of the house and property. The first of these is not the simple question usually proposed on like occasions, but it is repeated and varied with a tone of intense doubt and anxiety, which becomes quite amusing. It may be translated thus:—Are you well? *quite* well? Comfortable? *quite* comfortable? Happy? *exceed-*

ingly happy? Are you *sure* you are well? These being asked by one party, and being answered satisfactorily, are in their turn taken up by the other, and thus an ordinary salutation between friends occupies a considerable time: however large the assembly may be in which a man enters, he must go through this form to the whole of the persons present, as each is introduced to him, the senior or highest in rank making the first advance.

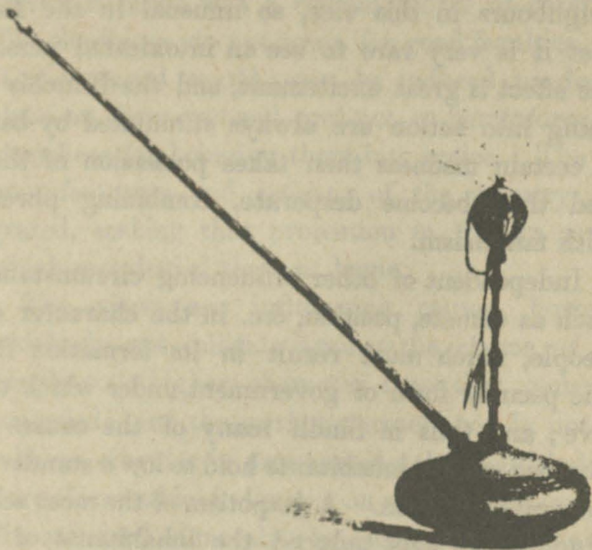
A Sindhian never passes a stranger on the road or river without the whole of these questions, into which he throws a deep interest; the effect, however, being sometimes much damped by the latter demanding, after the termination of the ceremony, "And who are you?" This custom is remarkable, as Sindh is almost the only Eastern country in which good breeding and etiquette permit inquiries to be made after the family of an individual.

Sindh, occupying as it does an intermediate position between Western India and the countries of Central Asia, it will readily be supposed that the strangers and foreigners who meet in its large towns and crowded bazaars, are of a very varied and singular description; and the traveller who arrives here from the wild countries of the north-west, feels at once that he has entered where the civilised habits of life begin to obtain. He meets in the larger towns the officials of government from the provinces of Bengal, the enterprising Parsi the active Mahratta; while the

visitor from Western India is jostled by the dirty Sindhian, the wild-looking Affghan, the Seyud of Pishin, the warlike Patan, the fierce-looking Bilúchi, with the peace-desiring merchants of Cabul, Hírat, and Cashmír. Sindh is the great commercial gate of India and Central Asia; and the trading interests of both meeting here, merchants and purchasers of the most opposite character and customs, language, and costume, here mingle, on the broad principle of common interest.

The bazaars, particularly in the northern part of Sindh, always present a very motley but highly picturesque assemblage of different nations. At the capital the Turk may even be occasionally met with. The officer who had charge of the royal arsenal was a Greek renegade; and now that the northern nations are to be met with on the banks of the Indus, they are amply provided with specimens of all the quarters of the earth.

The natives of Sindh, whether Mahommedan or Hindú, smoke universally. The Bilúchi, when travelling, has a regular apparatus for his pipe, and a Cúrzín (saddle bag) on purpose for its reception. The Hindú seated at his shop-door is never without this solace; and lest the presence of the unwieldy pipe itself should prove inconvenient, he has a tube of some twelve feet in length, with which he keeps up the communication with the large earthen water vessel and tobacco, both being placed outside the shop. Women smoke as well as the men.



SINDHIAN PIPE

Bang (hemp seed mixed with water) is the favourite intoxicating beverage with all the lower classes, because it is cheap. The Sindhian takes his draught of this nauseous preparation with all the gusto that distinguishes an Englishman and his glass of grog. Those who can afford it, drink spirits distilled in the country from dates or sugar. The royal potation, however, is Curaçoa, or any of the French liqueurs. On many occasions the Parsis' shops, established on the Indus at the British military stations, were completely glutted of these articles to answer the demands of some of the Amirs, so fond did they become of these more palateable preparations. The Hindús are not a whit behind their Mahommedan

neighbours in this vice, so unusual in the East Yet it is very rare to see an intoxicated person the effect is great excitement, and the Bilúchis ere going into action are always stimulated by bang. A certain madness then takes possession of them, and they become desperate, combining phrenzy with fanaticism.

Independent of other influencing circumstances, such as climate, position, &c. in the character of a people, much must result in its formation from the peculiar form of government under which they live; and thus in Sindh many of the causes are obvious why its inhabitants hold so low a standard in general estimation. A despotism of the most selfish kind has for ages induced the inhabitants of that country to look upon the exercise of their faculties, or development of their capacities, as leading only to further exactions. Industry and talent would have proved misfortunes rather than advantages to the possessor; and activity of mind or body be only sources of evil to those who displayed them. The consequence is a complete torpor of the human intellect, and of course a generally debased condition of the mass of the people, whose sole end and aim has been, not to improve the country or their own state, but to provide barely sufficient for their own wants; knowing that beyond these they would only contribute to the rapacity of their rulers, whose demands were in exact proportion to the capacity of their subjects to give:—to be pros-

perous in Sindh was a certain source of calamity. The Sindhians do not want for good faculties, and if encouraged would soon be induced to display them on their own soil, and not, as heretofore, seek elsewhere for bringing them into notice. The best manufacturers and artisans of the country emigrated, seeking that protection in foreign service which was denied them at home.

The above are influencing causes, however, which do not militate against the claims of this people to a higher character than that generally conceded; and the author's experience is not, he believes, singular in pronouncing them entitled to a more favourable judgment on closer acquaintance. The standard of morality in Asia is too low to admit of any comparison with our own; a fact seldom kept in view in treating of the characters of its varied people ; but in Sindh the inhabitants have at least the advantages of good temper, hospitality, and the social virtues to recommend them; and few travellers have traversed the country without drawing favourable comparisons between its people and those further north or north-west. Let us not then hastily imbibe prejudices, or judge too harshly of those whose faults are the results of circumstances, over which they have no control, but whose rude virtues, though few, are their own.

CHAP. V.

Productive Qualities of Sindh—not estimated by its Possessors. —Prosperity under Hindú Rule. — Soil of Sindh. — Geology. —Dust and Ventilators to Houses—Irrigation—Methods of. — Canals and Water-courses. — Clearing Canals. — System of Husbandry.—Tools employed.—Preservation of Grain.— Seasons for Crops.—Grain Productions.—Wheat.—Juwari. —Other dry Grains.—Oil Plants.—Products of commercial Importance.—Cotton. — Indigo. — Opium. — Sugar-cane. — Hemp. — Tobacco. — Drugs and Dyes. —Wool. — General Results.

WHEN nature has done much for man, we find him little inclined to acknowledge it, and apparently apathetic to the advantages he possesses; this is particularly exemplified in the East, where a luxurious climate induces to lassitude and inertia, and where man's wants are few and easily supplied.

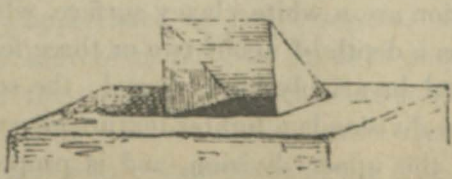
It would perhaps be impossible to find a country possessing greater productive capabilities than Sindh; yet, from the conquest of this province some thousand years since to the present time, its resources appear to have remained undeveloped or inadequately appreciated by its possessors. In its river it has sources of fertility equal to those of Egypt, with the advantage of not being subjected to variety, for the waters of the Indus are more regular in their return than those of the Nile.

Under the Hindús, the historians describe Sindh as having been an exceedingly rich and prosperous country: its fertility was the theme of universal praise; but under its Moslem conquerors and subsequent rulers its claims to these titles have been so impaired and at length so completely obliterated, that neighbouring countries, though totally deficient in means of irrigation and subject to failures of rain and consequent famines, evince in the improved condition of their inhabitants far greater prosperity generally than the highly favoured region of Sindh. Once, during a short Hindú interregnum in the fifteenth century, Sindh is said to have revived somewhat of its former reputation, but the period was but brief, and it soon relaxed into its usual neglected and impoverished state.

Under the late Bilúchi chiefs of Talpúr this fine tract was appropriated principally to hunting grounds, and the revenues of the country gradually diminished even below their former standard.

The soil of Sindh is of varied character: that near the river is a stiff clay or rich loam; and as the land recedes from the limits of the inundations it becomes light and sandy. The deposits of the inundation are a white clayey surface, which generally has a depth of about two or three feet, and is succeeded invariably by fine sand; the soil of the southern division is a lighter texture generally than that of the upper division, and is proportionably less productive; there is not a rock or stone of any

kind to be seen, and the greater the depth the finer the sand becomes; at certain parts of the lower country in the Delta, Sehwun, and Bukkur lime and sandstone hills, before described, are the only variation to this formation, until the valley of the Indus terminates in the mountain of Bilúchistan, where a stony or rocky surface is to be seen. The geology of Sindh and the valley of the Indus has been only partially examined : iron abounds in the hills just mentioned, and fossil shells are plentiful of Nautilus, Trochi, Helix, Cornus, and similar species; ne Sehwun are some curious specimens of petrified timber (principally palm) similar to that seen in the desert near Grand Cairo. The clayey soil of Sindh becomes hard and unmanageable after a short exposure to the sun, and requires a thorough moistening ere it can be tilled or sown: its surface during the hot season works into a fine dust, so impalpable that it pervades the whole atmosphere, and nothing has been found to exclude it; for this reason the natives in many parts of the country build their huts or houses with doors only, and ventilators are placed at the top, whence light and air are admitted: these are shaped thus, and are called "Bád Gírs," or literally wind catchers.



This soil is on the whole rich and productive, so much so, that in many parts of the country where the inundations are extensive, tillage is not employed. The seed is thrown on the earth after the secession of the waters, and the spring crops, particularly the wheat, thus produced, are most luxuriant. In no part of Sindh is the least attention paid to manure or assist the soil: cultivation is of the rudest kind, and consequently, though in some places three crops are reaped annually, the land is seldom able to produce more than one, and is generally allowed to remain fallow for a year, particularly after strong crops, like the Juwari and sugar cane.

Irrigation is employed throughout the northern part of Sindh, where the waters of the river do not so extensively overflow as in the Delta and southern division; but in this latter they provide, almost unaided, for the productiveness of the soil, particularly in rice, which grows in unlimited quantities. Here also irrigation is used to raise dry grains forming the winter crops. In some parts of Northern Sindh, particularly the neighbourhood of Sukkur, an immense space of country, averaging twenty miles in length, and about ten in breadth, is laid under water whenever the river is beyond a certain height, and then cultivation is carried on as in the Delta, but with this exception—from Sehwun upwards the soil is generally fertilised by drawing the water of the river to it from regular channels opened for the purpose of admitting the floods.

Irrigation in Sindh from the river is of two kinds, either by the use of the Persian wheel, or by simply opening drains leading to low lands. The former is worked by a camel or bullocks, and is a far ruder affair than any thing seen in India.



Occasionally the method of raising water by hand, as adopted in Egypt (there called the *Shadúf*), may be seen at work in Sindh, leathern pockets being fastened to the end of long poles, with a great mass of clay at their other extremities, and working in short upright posts. The pockets are dipped in the stream, and the preponderating weight at the other end of the poles is employed to lift the water.

Sindh is so advantageously situated, with reference to the rise of the river, and lowness of its banks, that it can be easily inundated throughout its whole extent. Immediately on the banks of the Indus the wheels are placed in cuts made directly from the river; but where the cultivated lands recede, large canals intersect the whole line of country, and although neglected and allowed to choke up, yet supply sufficient water for great fertility, the increase in which is proportionate to the efficiency of these outlets. Throughout Sindh lands are designated by these canals or the water-courses leading from them, and the whole system of revenue, collection, and assessment, is guided by the facilities for irrigation or otherwise, possessed by the soil at peculiar localities. In such a country it is obvious that labour and industry are alone required to increase its productive powers to any extent; but the means have been totally disregarded, and in repeated instances large tracts of fertile lands have become perfect wastes entirely owing to the neglected state of the canals. The rulers occasionally tried to force the labour unrequited, but to no satisfactory result: the population was too scanty to bear it; and without food or any remuneration whatever men cannot work.

The Jahgirdars, or possessors of soil, pursued a somewhat better system; for knowing the increased value of their lands from increased means of irrigation, they expended largely to procure them,

and employed the Míanis to keep the canals constantly clear from the deposited slime of the inundations. The method of clearing water-courses adopted by this class of labourers is peculiar to Sindh: they are attended in their work by musicians, and the excitement is kept up by beating drums and blowing horns; without these they make no progress, but with them the canal diggers of Sindh will do more manual labour than any natives of India: they work uninterruptedly for twelve hours, and use a large hoe called a *powrah*, with a short handle. The period for clearing the water-courses is the first appearance of a rise in the river (March or April).

The system of husbandry throughout Sindh is of the rudest kind, and the implements very few, and of simple construction.

The plough consists of one rough hewn pole slightly pointed with iron, drawn by a camel or two bullocks, and held by one hand: the whole is very light, and a very slight portion of the surface is disturbed, always after the soil has become well saturated. The seed being thrown in, a harrow, consisting of a rough beam of heavy wood, often circular, is dragged over it. A small instrument called a *rumbo*, but in shape like a large chisel, is used to weed the grain once or twice during its growth, and that is all. A cart, or *ghari*, consisting of a small platform, with wheels of rough-hewn wood shaped circularly, and which turn *with* the axle,

drawn by two bullocks, is used for the transport of the grain or other purposes: the whole is tied together by leather thongs or rope made from the *múnj* grass, a strong description of reedy grass, growing near the river; and this is also used for all agricultural purposes, such as connecting the string of pots required for the Persian wheel, yoking the oxen, &c. A large pronged stick is used for a fork, and a few baskets complete the husbandman's implements. When employed in driving the bullock or camel at the water-wheel the labourer is sheltered from the fierce rays of a Sindhian sun by a few tamarisk boughs or bundles of *kirbi* placed over a slight frame-work. It is usual also to induce the gigantic Euphorbia of the country to luxuriate around these sheds for the shade they afford.

Agricultural labourers are paid at harvest time by a proportion of the produce. The women in Sindh do much of the out-door work, and receive less in a certain proportion than the men. The grain is trodden from the husk by bullocks, it being collected in a thrashing-floor for this purpose. This latter is a cleaned space hardened and otherwise prepared by a layer of slime and chopped straw. When the *khirman*, or heap of grain, is collected, the revenue officer places a string round it, and thereto attaches a rude clay seal; it then awaits the government division, and heavy penalties prevent its being touched until the rulers'

share has been taken. In a dry climate like Sindh, grain is simply stored by being covered with mats, and to these is added, for further protection, a clay coating: it is thus left in the open air, or is kept in large jars of sun-dried clay in the inner recesses of the huts and dwellings.

The seasons for crops in Sindh are two—*Rabi*, or spring, and *Kharif*, or autumn, the produce varying in portions of the country: these divisions of the year do not apply to climate, for they hardly exist; but they are common to agriculture in Sindh, as they are elsewhere inIndia. In Northern Sindh wells are employed to irrigate for the spring crops, water of good quality being found all over that part of the country at an average distance of about fifteen or twenty feet: most of these wells are temporary, and are dug and used only for one season. In Lower Sindh the spring crops are greatly provided for by the deposited moisture of the river; but in both divisions the autumnal are dependent upon the inundations, and are of double value and quantity to the former. The upper division supplies the lower with its superabundance of dry grain, the revenue share in produce being sent down the river for that purpose; and the large fleets of grain-boats, as seen rounding the deeply-wooded points of the river's banks, present an animated scene, whilst they afford proofs of the harvest being collected, and of its richness.

The proportion of cultivated to waste lands, or

those occupied by dense jungles and hunting preserves in Sindh, is lamentably small: an accurate survey would alone reduce it to definite calculation; but it is too manifest to escape common observation, in a country whose means of fertility are unlimited in extent of soil, capable of being fructified by the river Indus.

The productions of Sindh in grain and pulse are common to those of many parts of India. Rice is the staple of the Lower Indus and Delta, whilst wheat and juwari (Holcus Sorghum), are the great alternate crops in the upper division. The quantity of rice grown in the former is said to be enormous: it is the only grain that Sindh exports; for though consumed in that portion of the lower country where it is cultivated, it is not so generally used as an article of food in the upper. It is of coarse description, and a finer quality is imported from Bombay.

The wheat and juwari crops of Upper Sindh may vie in richness with those of Egypt even, where, it may be remarked, they occupy the same positions, being the spring and winter grains: this is not extraordinary, considering the similarity of latitude and climate. A favourable season for crops depends entirely on the extent of inundation. Wheat is sown in November or December, and reaped in April. Juwari is sown in the latter and reaped in the former, being irrigated the whole time by the river. This is a large grain,

and yields a coarse though sweet description of flour; it is consumed by the mass of the population baked in the form of a cake, something like the much-vaunted *Galette* of Breton. The stalk of the Juwari, when dried, forms a most nutritious forage, called Kirbi, and is used for this purpose throughout the cold and dry seasons, and also with mats made of reeds and the date leaf helps to roof huts and sheds for men and cattle. Some idea may be formed of the richness of the Juwari crops in Sindh by the size of an ordinary stalk of this grain, which measures from fourteen to sixteen feet in height, and the head often weighs from twelve to fourteen ounces: it is exceedingly hardy, and attains nearly the same luxuriance in the desert tracts of Catchi and Gundava, as in the immediate vicinity of the Indus. The soil always requires to be fallow for one season after Juwari.

Wheat is raised either from irrigation from wells u ring the cold and dry period of the year, or is sown in the lands saturated by the inundations, and when these have receded. The crops are very fine, and for many miles, where it is extensively cultivated, the country is in some cases clothed with the most beautiful luxuriance of this grain. There can, in short, be no limit to the produce of grains in Sindh, if the country were cleared of its impediments to fertility in jungle and wild vegetation. In Egypt every acre of the scanty soil affected by the Nile is in the hands of the husbandman: the

whole extent of the river, from the sea to the cataracts, perpetually smiles with alternate crops of wheat and Dura (the Juwari of Sindh): the very gradual slope of the great plain of the Indus and the never-varying volume of its water give it great advantages over the Nile, the width of whose valley is somewhat less than six miles; yet how dissimilar is the scene on the great river. Leagues are traversed without a sign of human habitation or industry; and the mighty stream flows on only to nurture rank luxuriance of tamarisk and jungle; how much longer such rich gifts of nature are to be wasted remains to be proved.

The other dry grains are Badjri (Holcus spicatus); Múng (Phaseolus Mungo); grain and barley. Sisamum, linseed, castor oil, and mustard, are the oil plants of the country: that expressed from the latter is in general use for domestic purposes (as cocoa nut oil is in India): it has a most offensive effluvia, and is badly prepared.

For purposes of commercial importance Sindh produces cotton, indigo, opium, hemp, tobacco, saltpetre, alum, sulphur, and various drugs and dyes whose value requires to be further determined, and with which our acquaintance is but limited, though all enquiry tends to show that there are amongst them many which may become valuable, and all are worthy of being classed as useful.

Cotton is grown all over Sindh, but more par

ticularly an extensive tract reaching from the confines at Subzulkót to the centre of the province, and known as the *Ubah*, is especially appropriated to its cultivation. The plant is of two descriptions, an annual and perennial; in one case it yields only one crop, but in the latter, the roots being left in the ground, the shoots are again productive. The perennial is a large plant, the same as that seen on the banks of the Nile, and yielding a very large pod. The produce is used only for home consumption, in the manufacture of a coarse description of cloth much required by the lower orders in Sindh. The whole cultivation is much neglected, and no pains bestowed on the picking, cleansing, and other processes, which make cotton so valuable a portion of produce in our own provinces. It answers the purposes immediately required, and in Sindh this is the ultimatum of all products of the soil. There can be no doubt, however, that the cotton plant in Sindh may be made to yield valuable results, for there are no advantages possessed by our best cotton districts which are not shared by that country, and its cultivation may be increased to any extent. The quantity at present produced in Northern Sindh may be about ten thousand maunds annually. The crops are classed as *Nairi* and *Múndni*, annual and perennial. The season of sowing is April, and the harvest is gathered in August. Cotton seeds are valuable as food for working cattle. In the lower part of Sindh cotton is grown in various

tracts, but it is considered of inferior quality to that of the Ubah, which latter is exported in small quantities to the upper countries and Muscat.

The indigo plant has in Sindh a climate and soil particularly adapted to its development, and where cultivated, it has been considered of excellent quality. A limited quantity is grown in Upper Sindh, on the eastern bank of the river near Khyrpúr. In the Punjaub and Bhawalpúr territories, immediately adjoining Sindh, indigo is very extensively produced. It is used by the inhabitants of Sindh for the dye which all classes of Mohammedans give their clothes, and a small proportion is occasionally exported to the upper countries of Bilúchistan and Candahar. Indigo forms a great article of trade between Muscat and Sindh: it is not so much the growth of this country, however, as of those above mentioned.

The banks of the Indus, like those of the Ganges, are capable of producing this dye to a great extent, were its value sufficiently understood. At present it is limited in Sindh to home consumption; and even when exported from the higher Indus is so much deteriorated by the small cakes into which it is made up, as to be useless to the European market. It is undoubtedly one of those staple products which require attention, and will fully repay any efforts to extend its cultivation.

The opium produced in Sindh has been considered of so fine a quality as to be sent to Malwah,

where it is properly prepared for market. Its use is very general in the country, but a greal deal is exported : its cultivation obtains principally at Larkhana, Shikarpúr, and at the northern extremity of Sindh.

The sugar-cane attains great size in Sindh, and a coarse article is derived from it, which is in common use all over the country: that required for other than ordinary wants is supplied from the Bombay market, a branch of trade in which the Mogul (Persian) merchants were distinguished. There is a great inducement held out in Sindh to improve this production, as it is in such constant demand throughout the countries in the north-west, which are dependent on Russia and Persia for its supply; it finds its way to the latter from Bombay. Sindh should materially help to furnish all Central Asia with this essential article of food. The juice is expressed from the cane by a mill, even ruder in construction than that used in the Deckan and Western India, and then boiled, without any clarifying process. It becomes Gúr, or molasses, coarser than the coarsest description, known in India as Jugri.

Hemp is cultivated in every part of Sindh, for the sake of its seed, which has a certain intoxicating effect, and is either used in a liquified form or made into a paste, called *churus*. It is in general use by all classes. Beyond this the plant is not considered of any value; and the natives appear to be totally

ignorant of its other uses, for grass and hides were twisted into ropes for agricultural purposes, and on the river the *Coir* (cocoa-nut fibre) is employed as cords for the sails and rigging of the boats.

The tobacco grown in Sindh is generally of indifferent quality, and hardly merits a place amongst the valuable productions of the soil. All classes use it, from the prince to the peasant, and smoking occupies probably the greater portion of Sindhian existence. Persian and Kandahar tobacco is preferred by the wealthy; the poorer orders alone use that of the country.

Saltpetre abounds in the soil of Sindh, particularly the lower country, and is collected in great quantities. In many districts the surface of the land is covered with a saline efflorescence, which is merely scraped away, and slightly prepared to furnish the article: its quality has been pronounced excellent; and Sindh has from this cause been at all times famous for the superiority of its gunpowder. Alum and sulphur abound in the western hills bordering the province, where thermal springs are also of constant occurrence. Those near Karrachi are the most famous in the country: the heat of the smallest is 120°. Here are fed and petted the sacred alligators (the tutelary deity of the river Indus). Hundreds of these disgusting and enormous brutes find a delightful retreat in the pools formed by these springs. A tomb, as usual in Sindh, over some holy Pír, is erected near the

spot; and a visit to the alligator tank, as it is called, and hot springs, is a favourite break in the monotony of camp life at Karrachi. A goat is generally sacrificed on these occasions, and the scaly monsters leave their slimy holes to feed at the call of the attendant who has charge of the place.

Sindh, as a rich pastoral country, is very productive in *ghí*, an indispensable and expensive article of food in the East; it is what may be designated as liquified butter; and in this shape it is transported in large leathern bottles from one country to the other. Sindh exports ghi to Guzírat, Cutch, and even to Muscat.

Of the drugs and dyes of Sindh much cannot be said, for their merits have not been sufficiently inquired into; specimens of a few sent to Calcutta and Bombay were pronounced valuable additions to the *materia medica*, and there cannot be a doubt but that extended inquiry will lead to satisfactory results in this branch of Sindhian production.

The colocynth grows wild all over the desert tracts bordering Sindh; and antimony, a valuable mineral, is found abundantly in the neighbouring province of Lus. Sakur, a red dye, produced from the knot of the tamarisk shrub, is peculiar to and much used throughout Sindh; in the northern parts of the country it is found in great quantity. Turmerick and Kúmba (or safflower) are grown; but the best description of the latter is

imported from the upper country. Kara, a very useful kind of alkali, is produced abundantly from the incineration of jungle shrubs, which contain a great deal of saline matter: this article is exported in some quantities, and used in dyeing.

Pind Dadun Khan, in the Punjaub territories, furnishes fine rock salt, used throughout the whole of the Upper Indus. In the lower division and Delta it is manufactured; in the latter from the sea and elsewhere from evaporation, produced on the efflorescent surface of the soil. This is an article capable of becoming commercially important when exported through the mouths of the Indus.

Sindh is not a wool-producing country, though it is to be obtained in its western confines to a great extent, particularly in Catchi and the Jhalawan mountains of the Brahois: the Hindús of the country carry on the trade, and thus much of the article coming into the Bombay market through Sindh is misnamed Sindhian wool; many districts, however, accessible through Sindh and the Indus, yield this important article abundantly: that furnished by the Kilat territories finds its way to Bombay *viâ* the mountainous road to Sonmiani, at a great drawback in the expense of transport on camels and purchase of protection: the tolls on the river and transit duties alone drive it to seek that route; for it would be in every way advantageous to bring it to the Indus through Sindh by a short and easy land carriage.

The high estimation in which it is held always secures it a ready market. The Brahoi mountains and vicinity of Kilat are calculated to produce a hundred thousand of fleeces annually; the sheep is the small description, called the *dumba*, and is highly prized in all the countries to the north-west. Mikran, the country lying along the coast between Sindh and Persia, is also a wool-producing tract, and exports direct from Sonmiani, but further north this branch of trade will find its way through Sindh to the Indus.

The above comprises the present productions of the country, which particularly merit attention from their applicability to foreign purposes, and capability of increase in quantity, according to demand. They at the same time tend to demonstrate that Sindh, under a liberal administration, and if encouraged to develope its resources, is a highly-favoured region, rich in all the essentials for providing amply for the wants of a dense population, or if required furnish a superabundance for neighbouring countries; whilst there are amongst its productions those likely to be in constant demand for foreign markets and a return trade.

CHAP. VI.

Timber of Sindh — small in Size. — Trees. — Dates. — Luxuriance of Grasses. — Fruits. — Gardens. — Vegetables. — Manufactures. — Ingenuity of Sindhians. — Arms, Belts, Shields, &c. — Looms of Sindh. — Lúnghí. — Silk Fabrics. — Caps. — Pottery. — Embroidery. — Leather. — Dried Fish. — Animals of Sindh. — Camel. — Camel Saddle. — Riding Camel. — Horses. — Yabús. — Buffaloes. — Oxen. — Game. — Beasts of Prey. — Abundance of Water-fowl and Fish. — Alligators, Badgers, and Otters.

The timber of Sindh, though it may be considered inexhaustible in quantity, is generally so small in size as scarcely to answer the agricultural and domestic purposes required in a country where the houses and buildings generally are very confined; for the larger boats and other extensive uses, whether on the river or land, it is brought from the north, or imported from Bombay. The principal jungle trees are the tamarisk and baubul (this latter is a description of the Mimosa Arabica); both attain unusual size and luxuriance on the banks of the Indus, but are ill adapted for other than the commonest purposes. The hunting grounds are rich in the baubul and other Mimosa, and their thick massive clusters are seen for miles along the banks of the river, rendering picturesque and otherwise relieving the monotony of the scene

The tamarisk is the spontaneous production of the watery wastes of Sindh: as fuel and small rafters for their sheds and temporary habitations, it is very useful; its supply may be considered inexhaustible; our steamers have much depended upon it during the last four years, and it thus becomes essentially valuable to the navigation of the river. The knots or berries found upon this shrub are used as a dye before described, and the flowers for the same purpose are dried and exported. In some situations the tamarisk grows to the size of a jungle tree, and is then employed for building the smaller craft employed on the river.

The acacia and tamarind are plentiful in Northern Sindh; both are beautiful trees. There are also the neem (Melia azadurachta), pípul (Ficus religiosa), and a thorny, hardy shrub, called the Kér, abounds in Sindh; the Bír (Ziziphus jujuba) attains great size, and the fruit is much esteemed. The date obtains all over the country, particularly in the higher and warmer portions: it forms a great ingredient of food, and is dried and stored for consumption; the fruit is inferior to the Arabian and Egyptian: it ripens at the hottest period of the year, July, and the Khirma púz, or date-ripening season, is looked upon as the maximum of heat, from which the climate is said to become temperate. The wood of the palm is totally useless for building purposes, not lasting above four or five years.

Nothing can exceed the luxuriance of the grasses

and reeds on the banks of the Indus; the thickets formed by these in the preserves are quite impervious to any but the wild animals frequenting them. The camel-thorn, or jawasi, covers large tracts of country, attaining its greatest verdure at the hottest and driest season of the year, thus refreshing the eye with its contrast to the arid soil around it. The reed known in Sindh as Kana is in great use throughout the country for huts, mats, baskets, and other domestic purposes: it grows to a great height, and has a beautiful feathery top; it is knotted like the bamboo, and is very dense on the western bank, above Bukkur.

The fruits of Sindh are the date, mango (very good), apple (inferior), pomegranate, limes, oranges, citrons, mulberries, tamarind, melons of every description, many of the fine sorts for which Candahar and Cabul are famous, pistachio nuts, jambú or wild plum, grapes, plantains, &c., near Shikarpúr; and on the eastern bank, near Rorí, and at Hyderabad, the gardens are very luxuriant, and at the beginning of the hot months the whole country is well supplied with flowers, particularly roses. All classes take great pleasure in having large gardens, wherein are passed the hours of relaxation; Mahommedans and Hindús alike spend much money, and bestow great attention on this pursuit. At Shikarpúr the wealthy Soucars vie with each other in their pleasure grounds: fruit and flowers are alone cultivated; the common vege-

tables of the country grow in the fields with the regular crops, and consist of onions, spinach of various sorts, turnips, radishes, carrots, garlic, capsacums, various kinds of pumpkins, the egg plant (called bengum in India), beans, peas (answering to the lentil of Egypt), and various other esculents; these are generally sown in the spare corners of the wheat or juwari fields, according to the time of year. The potato was found to thrive in Sindh, and might be advantageously introduced as an article of food. Sindhians of all classes, it should be observed, are not very particular as to food, animal or vegetable. The entrails of animals and disgusting offal are considered as choice *morceaux*, and the root of the lotus, which beautiful plant completely hides the surface of the largest lakes, is eaten as a vegetable. The sweet potato is plentiful, and forms a favourite and very general article of nourishment with the natives.

The manufactured productions of Sindh are not numerous, and appear to be confined to the passing wants of its inhabitants. The natives are particularly ingenious as weavers, turners, and artisans, and are noted for a very curious description of wooden lacquered-work, which has attained for them a great reputation throughout India. The articles of this description, made at Hyderabad, have been esteemed as great curiosities even in England; but as a proof of the desertion of the workmen, only one is left at the capital capable of

doing this specimen, of purely Sindhian invention. The best workmen and artificers, finding plenty of employment under milder governments, emigrate to Bombay and other places, where they produce beautiful ornamental work in wood and ivory, admitting of a comparison with that of China. The arms of Sindh are very superior to those of most parts of India, particularly the matchlock-barrels, which are twisted in the Damascus style. The nobles and chiefs procure many from Persia and Constantinople, and these are highly prized, but nearly as good can be made in the country. They are inlaid with gold, and very highly finished. Some very good imitations of the European flint lock are to be met with: our guns and rifles, indeed, are only prized for this portion of their work; the barrels are considered too slight, and incapable of sustaining the heavy charge which the Sindhian always gives his piece. The European lock is attached to the Eastern barrel: the best of Joe Manton's and Purdy's guns and rifles, of which sufficient to stock a shop have at various times been presented to the Sindhian chiefs by the British government, share this mutilating fate. The Sindh matchlock is a heavy unwieldy arm; the stock much too light for the great weight of the barrel, and curiously shaped. One of the Amirs used our improved percussion rifles, but he was an exception to the general rule, the prejudice being generally decidedly in favour of the native weapon. The Sindhian sword-

blades are large, curved, very sharp and well tempered. The sheath also contains a receptacle for a small knife, used for food and other useful purposes. The belts are leather or cloth, richly embroidered. Great taste is also displayed in the manufacture of the pouches — paraphernalia attached to the waist. Shields are made from rhinoceros hides, richly embossed with brass or silver, carried over the shoulders, or strapped between them. Sindhians of all classes, Bilúchis or Jutts, always travel fully accoutred, the matchlock slung across the camel generally with a red cloth cover: a group thus equipped has a very picturesque effect.

The looms of Sindh are appropriated to the manufacture of various descriptions of coarse silk and cotton cloths, or of fabrics half silk and half cotton: for the latter beautiful articles the country was much celebrated; and of these the Lúnghís of Sindh were highly estimated, and fashionable at all the courts in India; and Tattah formerly owed its great reputation to their production: those of Múltan and Bhawulpúr have, however, completely superseded the Sindh fabric, and the latter are now comparatively scarce in the country. The coarse silk goods, of which there are many sorts, are woven from silk imported from China, Persia, and Túrkistan; the raw material is prepared and dyed in Sindh. Cochineal, madder, and the dyes in general use are brought from the north-west. Those articles

are of inferior quality, wanting the gloss which is peculiar to silk fabrics when properly prepared. Múltan and Bhawulpúr now supply all the superior descriptions of silk manufactured goods consumed in Sindh. No native of any pretensions to rank is complete in his costume without a waistband of silk, always of startling colour and ample dimensions; the bright-coloured caps are also of the same materials amongst the rich, and of gaudy chintz and cotton with the lower orders. The native cotton of the country is used for very coarse purposes; and for finer work, the European prepared or spun thread is imported. The cloths produced are in great demand amongst a poor population, who have hitherto been able to do little more than clothe themselves in the simplest manner. Blue dyed cotton garments are in general use amongst all classes. Goats' hair is woven into coarse clothing for cold weather, and ropes and sacks for conveying grain, &c. on camels and asses. Wool is moistened and beaten out from pulp into what are called nummuds, used as saddle cloths and carpets. The manufacture of the many-coloured caps worn by the Sindhians is an important feature in native handywork. The most glaring and fancifully tinted silks and cottons are employed in the production of this highly prized portion of costume; and the result is a considerable display of taste and diversity of colours. Sindhian pottery is superior: water vessels and a beautiful

description of glazed coloured tile are produced for the decoration of the domes, musjids, &c. The flat thin bricks used in the ancient tombs near Tattah have been universally admired for their beautiful finish and fine polish. Their texture is so hard and close, that the edges of the buildings are as perfect and well defined now as when originally erected, though many of them date some centuries from their foundation.

Embroidery is beautifully done in leather and cloth by Affghans, but the preparation of leather is that for which Sindh is famous, and it supplies many foreign markets with its tanned hides; in these the whole country is very rich. Larkhana in Northern Sindh has a very large establishment of this sort, and leather is a great and important branch of export trade for Sindh for waist belts, arms, and the large boots worn by the Mahommedans of rank in travelling. The skin of the kotah-pacha, or hog deer, is used; for water vessels, that of the goat; and for other purposes, ox hides. The bark of the baubul is employed in the tanning process, and the leather of all descriptions is beautifully soft and very durable. Sacks of sheeps' or goats' skins are used to carry water throughout the desert tracts of Sindh, and also provide the natives with means of crossing the river and its branches. The water is then poured off, and the sack, being blown up and tied round the stomach, serves to buoy the traveller over the

turgid stream: in reaching the shore he refills the skin, and pursues his journey. Much care is required in adjusting the balance nicely: the body must be exactly in the centre of the inflated skin, which is turned with the legs of the beast upwards, and strapped to the thighs and shoulders. The slightest deviation causes a capsize; and few but those well trained can carry out this operation successfully. The chaguls, or leathern water bottles of Sindh, are tastefully ornamented, and much valued.

Dried fish may be mentioned as a great export from Karrachi to Cutch and Guzírat and Muscat. Sharks' fins also find their way to Bombay.

It remains to enumerate the animals in this tract of country; and first in importance is the camel, which is very generally reared throughout the whole of Sindh, and justly estimated for its incalculable utility. The Delta of the Indus and some marshy parts of the river's banks appear equally favourable to the animal as the dry and desert tracts eastward. where it is generally considered to be in its natural locality: large herds, however, pasture in the saturated tamarisk of the swamps in the Delta, and appear to thrive well. The whole of the land traffic, from the sea to the remotest parts of Central Asia, is carried on by camels: without it the. merchant's calling must cease, and the wants of thousands be unprovided for. In Sindh it is also used for agricultural and domestic purposes, particularly in the lower part

of the river, where it invariably turns the water wheel or oil mill, and is occasionally harnessed to the plough. Land travelling is only to be effected conveniently by means of the camel, which is both capable of great endurance, and is fleet, sure, and easy. Persons unused to camel riding find the pace of the animal fatiguing, but after a little practice it is resorted to for long journeys in preference to any other mode of travelling, and camels when well trained acquire a pace by no means disagreeable.

The camel saddle too of Sindh is remarkably luxurious, and the wealthy expend large sums upon their furniture and trappings, using a variety of soft well-padded saddle cloths of silk, satin, or embroidered cloth, decorated with an abundance of fringe and tassels. Necklaces of white shells strung on crimson cords are also common decorations, and a great man imagines it impossible to expend too much on his camel's gear.

The best riding camels are brought from Mikran, and their speed when well trained is almost incredible, the pace being a long trot. The saddle is so divided by an arch of wood-work in the centre, as to be capable of accommodating two persons; and the servant who guides the animal sits in front of his master, and holds the cords that are fixed to a peg that passes through the nostril of the camel, and by which he is governed.



Seyuds who consider the camel as a sacred animal, and the care of it honourable, breed large numbers, and the milk is constantly used in common with that of the buffaloe and sheep: it is nutritious and pleasant in flavour, but soon becomes sour by exposure to heat.

The horse of Sindh is a large powerful animal, bred by the Bilúchi chiefs in large numbers, but they are trained to an ambling, shuffling pace, intolerable to any but an Asiatic rider: the fleetest and best horses used in the country are brought from Khorassan, and are selected by freebooting chiefs in consequence of their swiftness and power. The common steeds ridden by the Sindhians are Yabús, thin, bony, miserable creatures, but yet capable of extraordinary endurance and fatigue.

The wealthy men in Sindh feed their horses highly, and caparison them with taste and splendour. Silver mountings, pommels, and stirrups, are common with rich velvet and silver housings. Necklaces of blue beads are also general, as they are considered a protection against the "evil eye."

The Yabús on the contrary always look starved, but in that condition are considered most serviceable by their owners, who rear them to endure hardships, and leave them saddled and bridled for hours after a journey, without paying them the slightest attention. The mules of Sindh also deserve attention as a most useful animal: they are large and strong, capable of bearing heavy loads, and living on the hardest fare. Asses are of large size, and share with camels the inland carriage of the country; they are principally used by the poorer Hindú traders.

The Sindhians, those particularly of Upper Sindh and the interior, are a very pastoral people, who breed and tend vast numbers of cattle. A man in Sindh, as among the patriarchs of the Jews, is considered wealthy and respectable according to his possessions in cattle, and large tracts are used as pasturage ground. The buffaloes or water kine abound in every hamlet; and a man must be poor indeed who does not possess one or more. The milk forms one of the staple commodities of food among the peasants, who eat it as curd, and sell it to their richer neighbours. The oxen of Sindh are

small but strong to labour, very numerous all over the country, and in universal use for agricultural purposes, the plough, water-wheel, cart, oil mill, &c.; and the goats are abundant and singularly large and handsome. The Mahommedans seldom kill sheep, but prefer goat's flesh, and on the arrival of any stranger of note at a village, the chief invariably sends him a present of a kid wherewith to make a feast. The sheep of Sindh is very inferior to the short-legged, thickly-wooled description of the western mountains, known as the *Dúmba* ; the country is too swampy for the animal to thrive in.

Game of every kind is abundant in Sindh: of the smaller description partridges are most common, and the Mahommedan gentlemen hunt them with hawks, which is a favourite diversion. The kotah-pacha too, or hog deer, is the great object of sport, for which the Shikargahs are maintained; the flesh is finely flavoured and much esteemed. This animal attains great size in Sindh; and the wild hog also affords them great sport, although they abhor the flesh as good Mahommedans. The poorer classes of Sindhians eat it, and indeed there are few things they refuse: they are only equalled in this respect by the out-casts of India, who feed on carrion. In hunting wild hog, large Affghan dogs of great power and ferocity are used to harass and worry the beast, until, having in some measure expended his strength for the amusement of the hunters, his career is ended by the matchlock-men, who take every un-

fair advantage of the difficulties in which he is placed. The principal beasts of prey are foxes, wolves, jackals, hyenas, and tigers: the last, however, are by no means common, but they are eagerly sought for by the lovers of the chase, as, in addition to the excitement such noble game affords, the bones of tigers are considered as infallible remedies of all disease, and possessed also of a power to protect persons and habitations: for this reason, in Sindh, tigers are frequently kept in cages near the tombs of holy men, and fed by the pious in the neighbourhood. The wolves are so daring and voracious as to attack human beings when asleep or unprepared; the jackals are exceedingly numerous and very bold.

The poor classes among the Sindhians are fortunate in having two great means of subsistence in the fish and wild fowl, with which the river, lakes, and tanks abound. The latter are to be seen in flocks on every large piece of water in the country, and the people are expert in snaring them; while of the latter, so great a variety abounds in every season, that it is impossible to enumerate them: sixteen varieties, it is said, are to be found in the Indus in Upper Sindh alone, and of these the best known is the sable fish, or *pullah*, which the people broil, by this means divesting it of its extreme fatness, and rendering it wholesome food. The *khuggur*, the *singara*, the *gar*, and the *kúni*, are all excellent and wholesome, but many of the rest are too bony

to be agreeable food. The villagers also breed large quantities of fowls, which are to be purchased very cheaply, and are much used as food by the Mahommedans. When first our troops entered Sindh, a pair of fine fowls might always be had in exchange for an empty bottle, but the constant demand has now increased their value: empty bottles, however, are not such *curiosities* now as they were wont to be; three or four years' occupation of the country by British troops has occasioned a very liberal supply of the article. Sindh is a very *thirsty* climate!

The Indus, in addition to the multiplicity of fish to be found in its waters, abounds with alligators, badgers, and otters. The alligator is venerated in Sindh, as it was amongst the ancient Egyptians, and, like the tigers, occupies distinguished positions near the tombs of their saints, as at Pír Puttír or the Bàgàr creek, and at Pír Mungar near Karrachi, where it receives divine honours, and is sacred to the river, as elsewhere noticed: the description peculiar to the Indus is styled the gurrial, or long-snouted. The badgers are hunted for the sake of their skins, for it is quite cold enough in Sindh at times to estimate the comfort of warm clothing; and the otter is petted and becomes, in some instances remarkably docile.

CHAP. VII.

River Indus.—Productive Value.—Fickle Character of Stream. —Obliteration of Ancient Geographical Features.—Former Eastern Course of River.—Inundation—Causes of.—Natural Phenomena of Indus.—Importance and Difficulties of Navigation.—Steam Boats.—Present Steamers ill adapted.—Description required.—Native Methods of navigating the River.—Description of Dúndi.—Zoruck.—Craft too weak for the Stream.—Jumptis of the Amirs—Picturesque Character of.

In considering Sindh, its noble river forms its first and most characteristic feature.

As a rich vein, it now glides, now rushes from its mountain source amid the snow-capped Himalayas to the Indian ocean, becoming as it flows the benefactor of all around, offering fertility to the husbandman and bringing wealth to the merchant.

Still, calm, and tranquil during the winter months, the Indus creeps sluggishly on through Sindh, between banks covered with dark tamarisk or shaded by the thick foliage of the Amirs' hunting forests; but as the snows of the mountains dissolve beneath the intense heat of summer, they swell the river tide, its waters rise, overflow the neighbouring lands, and rolling on in fast succession, present to the eye the rush of a turgid stream, scarcely less rapid than that of the Rhone, and having gyratory cur-

rents, with whirlpools of the most dangerous description.

It is at this period, however, that the Indus is really valuable. At other seasons it is a medium of transit only, but now it also becomes the productive source of every benefit which the immediate country yields to its inhabitants. Flowing as a broad and noble stream, navigable from Attock to the sea, a distance of more than nine hundred miles, it becomes, like the Nile, the great benefactor of the denizens of a large and peculiar country, who, situated beyond the periodical rains of the tropics, would be, but for the rich gifts of the Indus waters, exposed to perpetual labour, as well as to the dreadful chances of frequent famine, in the almost hopeless task of endeavouring to raise the means of life by artificial irrigation, in a country where, from excessive heat, the large tracts must still remain a wide, burning, and uncultivated desert.

Happily, however, such is not the case; and from the misery and devastating effect of such famines as are too common in India, the river of Sindh not only saves its inhabitants, but has made them the envy of less favoured tracts, many of which, though holding a high character for fertility, must yield the palm of productive power to Sindh with its eternal source of productiveness in the Indus.

As much learned and intricate controversy has been occasioned. and will yet in all probability arise, in attempting to solve questions of ancient

geography, particularly as affects the localities of Lower Sindh, the subject may advantageously be dismissed at once, by referring the curious in such intricate matters to the authorities themselves, for, in consequence of the capricious character of the river in its flow, channels, currents, and inundations, sometimes gliding along almost imperceptibly, and again rushing on at the speed of seven knots an hour, sometimes inundating the country on either side to a distance of several miles, and in the following season bursting violently over one bank to the destruction of towns and villages, leaving the opposite country dry and desert, ever forsaking old boundaries and making for itself fresh channels, it would seem, that on this its peculiar character may be charged much of the doubt, difficulty, and, it may be said, impossibility of dating the fluctuations of its waters, or calculating with necessary exactness the probable position of cities and places which have an interest to the classical historian.

In proof of this the natives themselves consider it quite uncertain when they leave the upper part of the river as to which of its arms in the Delta may be open to them on arrival there. The very accurate and elaborate surveys completed some six or seven years since, are now of little or no value as guides in the navigation of particular portions of the stream, so completely is it altered; and any further remarks therefore on its fickle character

must be superfluous. The rocky point of Sehwun, in all probability, offers in its old castle the only monument of the Grecian expedition extant in the whole line of the Indus. It is possible that from this spot the Macedonian hero "made excursions against Oxicanus and Sambus in the mountains (i. e. towards Gundava and those which approach the stream from the great range), and on his return built a commodious fort overlooking the river." The peculiar position of Sehwun, and the immense artificial mound in which its old fort is built, give it fair claims to rank as a genuine specimen of antiquity, failing at least any competitor with higher pretensions. Beyond this often-quoted but still uncertain remnant of Alexander's march, there is not immediately on the whole line of Indus, whether in Sindh or further north, one traceable monument of antiquity: even his altars have disappeared with the ground on which they were erected, and, as places, Pattala (Tattah) and the Delta itself are looked for with uncertainty. The "Barbaricum Emporium," whence, according to the "Periplus," the expedition sailed upwards to Minágara, whilst on their way to the South, would appear to reduce the latter to some point low down the river, whilst with antiquarian anxiety it is generally looked for some six hundred miles up the stream. Such are a few specimens merely adduced as unsatisfactory results of learned controversy in the comparative geography of the Indus. It should not

be omitted to mention, however, that while actual and existing proofs in relics and identity of localities are looked for in vain, the accuracy of Alexander's historians is daily proved by the natural phenomena of the river, character of the country through which it flows, and many of the customs of the inhabitants preserved even to the present day.

To come within the date of authentic history, there can be no doubt that the river took a more easterly course through a great part of Sindh than at present: its old channels still to be seen corroborate this, as also ruins of cities mentioned by the early Mahommedan historians, as having been situated on its banks: all the places described in the first conquest of the country are thus recognizable, particularly the ancient Hindú capital, situated in the northern division before alluded to, now some miles from the stream, though the river is expressly said to have washed the city walls: a bridge and dry channel testify to this fact. The progress of the Indus through Sindh to the present day is generally westward, and at Sehwun the rocky barrier even does not arrest its progress. A *pass* by the stream, which admitted the Bombay division of the Cabul army in 1839, was in 1841 obliterated; the road over a shoulder of the hills had succumbed to the action of the river. Bukkur could hardly have existed at the time of the Greeks, or they would have men-

tioned so prominent a feature in the stream. Even here the rocky banks scarcely confine the stream just above this point. The Indus overspreads a great extent of its western bank, and has continued to do so for years, to the improvement of the revenues of the Mughulli district, in which Shikarpúr is situated, and consequent deterioration of the eastern districts of Khyrpúr. Between the Christian and Mahommedan eras the river in all probability forsook its old channel near Alor (traces of which are palpable), and has continued a westerly progress ever since as far as the Delta, where it hardly retains the same main branch of exit to the sea for two successive seasons.

The river runs in a general direction nearly north and south. The inundations commence in March (about the 23d), but are sensibly felt in the lower portions of Sindh, so as to fill the arms of the Delta, and the channels bordering from the main stream, only in the middle of May. The retiring of the waters begins about the end of September.

The rise is first shown, not by any very perceptible increase in quantity, so much as by accelerated flow. About August it attains its maximum, and the *Líts*, as they are called in the country, a general overspreading of the floods, on which fertility is so much dependent, are looked for at that particular period. The magnificence of this grand feature in nature must then be seen to be fully appreciated;

the Mita Durya, or "sweet water *sea*," as it is styled, is then in all its glory, and second only in sublimity of effect to those unrivalled streams which traverse the vast continent of the New World, but superior to all other rivers, whether of Asia or Africa, in size and volume. Its average breadth below Hyderabad is three quarters of a mile; but higher up, and at Sehwun, it is wider. In some places it is literally, as styled by the natives, a *sea;* for the banks are lost, and nothing but water meets the eye. The great expanse of lake Munchur has been alluded to; but when this space of nearly three hundred square miles of water is viewed only as an outlet of the waste inundations of the river, it affords a striking proof of their magnitude. A great peculiarity in the course of the stream and evidence of its force is here observed. Meeting the rocky barrier at Sehwun, it regurgitates for ten miles up a westerly channel into the lake, which is thus fed by the Narrah river flowing into it from the Indus northward, and another branch from the eastward.

From Sehwun to the northern extremity of Sindh the width of the river is less than below; but at Mittun, where the five great tributaries effect a junction, it is upwards of two thousand yards in expanse. The above dimensions of course apply to the period of floods.

The decrease in the river in September is steady; and although the exact period of its minimum in

Sindh has not been determined, it will probably be in February. Rain and the melting snows of the Himalaya Mountains are considered to supply the floods of the Indus, but principally the latter, as evinced in their steadiness of retreat, and a certain period of stationary maximum of inundation. Sudden rises may be attributed to rain in the countries to the north, through which the feeders of the Indus flow; but these are accidental, for these countries are not regularly supplied with rain: the position of the sun at the equinoxes determines the rise and fall, and affords a decisive proof of the great source whence the Indus derives its supply. For full and elaborate particulars, however, respecting the peculiar phenomena of the stream as observed in Lower Sindh, the reports of those scientific officers (Lieutenants Wood and Carless) whose attention was exclusively directed to this duty, must be referred to. To these it would be presumptuous to add, and therefore they may be considered as providing every requisite information on this interesting part of the subject.

The navigation of the Indus is the point of highest importance connected with Sindh, and that to which attention must daily become more particularly directed. The characteristic features of this river being for one half of the year extraordinary velocity, with a narrow and constantly varying main stream, and the other half the same uncertain course, want of depth of water, and a sluggish current, it is evident that no ordinary obstacles are to

be overcome, ere the passage of the Indus can be completely commanded, so as to ensure those ends which give it value for military, but particularly commercial purposes; experience, however, having shown, that the difficulties, though somewhat greater than those of the Ganges, are still only such as must sink under energy and our inexhaustible resources. There can be no doubt that time is alone required to gain practical experience, and ultimately the attainment of all our objects in this great river, as far as mechanical results are to be considered.

Since 1840 only, have we had a small steam flotilla, consisting of four ill-adapted iron boats on the Indus; and for the first year of this experimental establishment, nothing was encountered but disappointments: the deep channel was never long preserved, and between grounding on sand-banks and getting into the nearly overwhelming currents and eddies, with consequent damages to machinery and tackle, the trip between Tattah and Sukkur occupied nearly as long as a common Sindhian river craft. In 1842 the case was widely different: the officers of the steamers had become fully acquainted with the difficulties against which they had to contend, and their voyages with or against the stream were made easily and with general regularity. The native pilots were no longer indispensable; and daily experiencing the constant changes and peculiarities of this capricious river, our own people knew how to provide against

them. All these boats, however, have too great a draught of water,—are so weak in their machinery, and in every way so ill adapted for any purposes but the conveyance of their own fuel, that with the greatest difficulty in times of extreme urgency could a handfull of troops, or a small quantity of treasure or stores, be transmitted by them. These attempts, therefore, which were after all merely experimental, would be no discouragement had they proved utter failures; but such is not the case: even these inadequate boats could generally make a regular run between Tattah and Sukkur, a distance of three hundred and twenty-six miles, during the greatest velocity of the current, in from seven to eight days, and the downward trip in fifteen to twenty hours steaming. The greatest draught of water allowable by those whose opinions are valuable, for steamers on the Indus, is considered to be thirty inches, better if only two feet; they should be long, and of the greatest power consistent with lightness, having in tow accommodation or baggage boats, the steamers being only used for their own officers, and transport of their own fuel: thus, in the Ganges a steamer of one hundred and twenty-five feet in length tows a boat of this sort, capable of containing four thousand feet of cargo, weighing forty tons, and drawing only at the maximum eighty inches; making seven miles an hour against the stream. The steamers now running in the Indus average a draught of thirty-three inches

unladen, and are therefore wanting in a primary essential for the purposes required. Steam is the indispensable agent to the navigation of the Indus to any satisfactory end: with it and experience to guide us there are no more obstacles encountered than are usually to be met with in every undertaking of the present day, which must have a beginning ere it can have a result.

The native method of navigating the Indus is rude, and in accordance with the state of the inhabitants of Sindh, and the countries through which the river flows: a description of the craft and system generally will tend forcibly to exemplify the utter hopelessness of attempting to cope with such a river by any such means; indeed, it is only a subject of extreme astonishment that the Indus has, under such circumstances, ever been used as a means of transit upwards, and may only be accounted for by that patient endurance, the result of apathy, which in the East accomplishes its purpose, not by methods or expedients, so much as by an unlimited exhaustion of time and labour.

The boat in common use for transport in Sindh and the lower river is the *Dúndi*, flat bottomed, with a slight convex inclination, for the additional facility of getting off sand-banks; it then spins round on its centre, and has a greater chance of giving way to the force of the current, whilst a completely flat bottom would hold to the ground, and it would be difficult to remove a craft after

she had once touched a soft sand-bank in the Indus. The stern and fore-part of the Dúndi are flat, and slope inwards, the former being at a considerable angle to the surface of the water, somewhat higher than the other part of the boat: there is also a slight decrease in the breadth at its extremities; one of the advantages of a sloping front is the facility afforded for running in on the banks when required to *lugao* (or fasten to the shore), or parrying the shocks when forcibly driven on it. The rudder is very large, and shipped as usual, or often in heavy boats by a complicated system of ropes and poles, which work outside the stern, the steersman holding both ends of the pole, increasing his labour to a great extent. The mast is stepped very far forward on strong cross-beams, and removable at pleasure: the sail is of the lightest material, and oblong, always placed behind the mast, and stretched between two thin poles; it can only be used with the wind nearly aft and light, for a stiff breeze would destroy the whole tackle. The size of these boats varies from ten to one hundred tons: the ropes are of the coir or cocoa-nut fibre; and from the difficulty of procuring any large timber, the whole is constructed of small pieces of the wood of the country fastened together with pegs, often of bamboo, iron being only used to secure the ribs and knees: so weak is the whole affair, that during the floods it is calculated some forty or fifty boats are lost in the lower part of the

river annually. The Dúndi consists of three distinct parts, the two sides and bottom, the latter being adjusted to the others by warping the end up to the slope required, and then strengthened with joints or ribs (as they are termed): the boat thus admits of being dismembered and transported, a fact corroborative of the accuracy of Alexander's historians, who describe the same process, — as may to this day be seen on this river. The dangers of Indus navigation to native craft are increased by logs of wood fixing in the sand-banks, and projecting their points upwards, called in the Mississippi, and American rivers, *snaggs:* an unfortunate Dúndi or Zoruck, if caught by one of these, is soon a wreck. Teak is preferred by boatmen from its great strength to all other woods; but it is too expensive for ordinary builders: next to it the fir, cedar, and other timber from the Punjaub and northern countries, is sought for.

In tracking against the stream, the rope is passed through a hole in the top of the mast, and then connected with the stern post. Considerable length is allowed, to permit the boat to shoot into deep water; and in tracking near the banks, shoals are announced by the leading tracker, when the spare rope is given out, and the boat flies off into the deep stream. These ropes constantly break, particularly in attempting to turn points, round which the stream rushes with great force, and thus a mile or two, the best portion perhaps of a day's

labour, is lost; for it is no easy matter to arrest the progress of a craft when once the stream has caught her. The number of trackers varies with the size of the craft, but is generally very inadequate to the work to be performed.

The shape of this boat is little to be altered in its adaptation for the peculiarities of the Indus: the fault lies in its exceedingly fragile construction; and were it intended to increase the number of sailing craft on the Indus, the Dúndi, of more durable materials, might well be adhered to. But the form is the only portion to be commended; the whole detail is rude, and inadequate beyond measure, and consequently its advantages in one respect are more than counterbalanced by the deficiencies in the other.

There is another description of boat peculiar to the Suttledge, called the Zoruck, but it is frequently found in the Indus and lower stream. It differs from the Dúndi in having no elevation at the stern, is rounded off a little fore and aft, but does not taper in at those points, like the Sindh boat. It is, if possible, more fragile than the other in its fastenings, which consist of small iron cleats outside; and it is no unusual occurrence with both to lose a piece out of their sides or flat bottoms, and thus go down at once. The smaller fishing, ferry, and other craft, in Sindh, of which there are several kinds, such as the Kowtil, Kuggur, &c., partake much of the same general cha-

racter as those described. In floating down the stream the mast of the boat is lowered, and the direction, as well as accelerated speed, is given by two large oars, placed immediately in the centre of the stern, and worked backwards and forwards by two or more men, according to the size of the craft. A boat will make about sixty miles per day with the stream; but, as in the Ganges, in no case is it possible to progress on the Indus during the night. After sunset the most favourable situation for fastening to the bank is sought, the day's meal is cooked, and all progress suspended, until the following morning. A strong contrast is afforded in this respect between the Indian rivers and the Nile. In the latter steamers even can fly down its stream at any hour of the night or day, and the river is at all times crowded with craft under sail. The boats in the Indus are scantily manned; and for tracking, if extra hands are required, they are hired from village to village for a very small remuneration, labour being very cheap throughout the country. The rate paid for boats is six rupees per khina, from the mouths of the Indus to Bukkur.

The jumptis, or state-barges, of the Amirs formed an exception to the rest of the river craft: these were immensely long (some as much as 120 feet), strong-built boats of teak, having pavilions at either extremity, in the foremost of which the princes reclined when they visited the hunting preserves

The jumptis had two masts, or were propelled by six enormous oars on a side, requiring about twenty men to each; the decks were crowded with retainers, in many-coloured floating vests, and the pavilions covered with scarlet cloth, flags also streaming from the stern. The steersman, or pilot, occupied a prominent position on the top of the sternmost pavilion, and was on these occasions a most important personage. The jumpti was peculiarly characteristic of Sindh and its rulers, and the effect of these crowded floating pavilions, as seen amongst the dark foliage of the hunting preserves, stemming the stream with a stiff breeze, or tracking against it by the labour of some hundreds of retainers, was most picturesque and enlivening to the general monotony of an Indus scene.

Teak is occasionally used to construct the larger river boats for stowage, but it is too expensive for general purposes. Boat-building for large craft is carried on at the ports, and in the Delta, but otherwise it may be seen in progress at many of the towns on the river: the number of craft is scanty in comparison with the extent of navigation.

CHAP. VIII.

Length of Voyages by Native Craft. — Southerly Winds. — Experimental Steam Trip up the Narrah. — Voyage during Northerly Winds. — Impracticability of Native Method of Navigation. — Fuel for Steamers. — Features of River. — Delta. — Tattah and Hyderabad. — Arrul and Narrah Branches. — Appreciation of River by Natives. — Water as a Beverage. — Seaports. — Karrachi. — Sea-boats. — Ports in Delta, Higher Indus, and its Tributaries.

A VOYAGE from Tattah to Sukkur by native craft is thus accomplished, if during the monsoon or months of inundation, *i. e.* from April to September, the southerly winds which prevail for that period assist a boat almost to Sehwun without much tracking; but these breezes must not be too strong, for in such case the craft seeks some sheltered nook amongst the jungle or under the lee of a bank during the day — being unable to stand the pressure of the wind against the stream — and there awaits its moderating, which generally takes place towards the following morning. The tracking paths being lost as the dense jungle comes down to the very edge of the river, progress is sometimes very slow, and the above distance often occupies from fifteen to twenty days: above Sehwun the boatmen quit the main stream, and pursue the circuitous course of the Narrah, passing through the centre of the lake

Munchur: this nearly doubles the distance, but the fierce torrent of the main river is avoided, and time as well as labour are saved, by having only to track against the comparatively sluggish stream of the Narrah alluded to. The southerly winds here are very partial, and render uncertain assistance, for their force is diminished visibly, and sometimes completely lost, after turning the barrier of Sehwun. The banks of the Narrah being open and cultivated, there are great advantages in the facilities it affords for tracking: a boat here will sometimes make from fourteen to fifteen miles a day; but time with the Sindhian Monana is of very minor importance, and, if left to himself, he would consider he was progressing rapidly at half the above rate. From Sehwun to Sukkur occupies about t nty days; and thus the whole distance from Tattah to the latter place consumes from thirty-five to forty days. An experimental steamer was on one occasion, at the season described, sent up the Narrah river and across the lake Munchur, and was so far successful, that it established the fact that a boat adapted to the purpose could make this passage in about eighty hours' steaming, or one half the time consumed on the main stream during the floods. The title *Narrah* signifies snake, and is expressive of the tortuous channel of this great branch of the Indus. The whole estimated distance is 280 miles (about double that of the main stream, from exit to entrance); but the average velocity of current being

only three miles and a half per hour, is just one half of that of the river, and hence the advantage over the latter. Fuel is every where abundant.

If the upward trip be undertaken during any of the other six months of the year, or cold and dry season, it will occupy more time; for though the river is then more practicable to native craft, from the laziness of the stream, it has the counteracting disadvantage of strong northerly winds, which blow down its whole length, dividing the year equally with the southern, against which it is very difficult to make head; and the whole distance must be tracked. The average rate at which a boat will track the Indus, through the Sindhian part of its course, is little more, on average, than ten miles a day; and a worse river for this operation can hardly be imagined: its banks are either lined with swampy jungles, or the dense masses of the Shikargahs come close up to the stream, whilst in other places it has heavy sand-hills lining the edges of the river. The banks of the Ganges are strong and permanent, having commodious ghauts (landing-places) erected at certain distances. There are not, moreover, any means of providing a remedy to this impediment in the Indus to ordinary craft; for the tracking path, if cleared of jungle and made practicable one season, would probably be swept away the next; and the river's outward banks are often completely lost during the period of inundation. The Indus has throughout Sindh two banks, the original, if we

may so call it, being that into which it retires at the cold or dry season, and the outward beyond that up to which it increases during the floods.

A voyage from the sea to Ferozepúr occupies, on an average, from two months to two and a half; and goods by the river consume four months from Bombay! Such are the impediments to navigating this stream by its own vessels, and such the difficulties against which the upward traffic of the Indus has had to contend: the consequence is that the river has been but partially resorted to for commercial purposes, and on all practicable occasions the merchandise has been transmitted from one part of Sindh to the other, or the countries accessible by means of the river, on camels, at an enormous expense and great risk.

It is evident, and the opinion has been often quoted by the best authorities, that nothing but the power of steam applied to the Indus will ever have the effect of counteracting the physical difficulties which it presents to extended navigation: its whole course must be commanded by steamers built expressly for and adapted to its peculiarities and difficulties, which are of no ordinary kind. This measure, fortunately for the great interests at stake, is in progress and about to be adopted; and as the experiments hitherto carried on have paved the way for adequate efficiency in the arrangements to be made, there cannot be a doubt of the ultimate practicability of navigating the

whole passage of the Indus and Suttledge, from Ferozepúr to the sea, or to a point in communication with the sea at Karrachi, and by steam.

The auxiliaries for steam navigation on the Indus are very great; first, in an abundant supply of wood fuel, particularly if the useless Shikargahs were turned to more profitable account than harbouring game; but, independent of these, the dense tamarisk abounds extensively, and must continue in the swamps to be so perpetuated, that as it proves, when well dried and mingled with other wood, suitable as fuel, there can be little doubt but that the means of supplying the steamers will be always found adequate to their purposes. Above the Indus in Sindh, towards the Suttledge, this is not the case, for fuel is certainly more scarce; but coal has been discovered to exist on both banks of the Indus, near the salt range; and it is to be hoped that further examination may yet be directed to its development. There are eight or ten different descriptions of wood fuel found on the banks of the Indus, some better adapted than others for the purpose. Coal is in power of steam as seven to five, and of course in every way preferable; but its enormous expense in India until procured as a native production, is the great obstacle to its general employment. Again, the Indus being so easy of approach by water carriage from Bombay, all the stores, materials, artificers, and other essentials for efficiency in a steam flotilla, can be readily commanded, and depôts and magazines be continually

kept fully supplied. One of the first points requiring attention is a well-located establishment of this sort. Hitherto extensive repairs to the steamers have had to be carried out in Bombay. All these arrangements, however, will now have that full attention which the important matter demands; and when we can, with such ill-adapted vessels as are at present employed, command during the height of the inundations and consequent strongest power of the current, a regular passage from Tattah to Bukkur, in from seven to ten days, three hundred and twenty-six miles, with a downward trip of thirty-six hours, we may reasonably speculate on still greater improvement. The last three years have been otherwise employed in Sindh than in promoting the navigation of the Indus, from a series of untoward events in its vicinity, which are not only without parallel in our Eastern annals, but those of our hitherto glorious progress from the earliest period of its history. A possession of the river route, and a good understanding with the tribes on its banks, are alone required to prove that a fair field is open to our skill and energy; but these conditions are indispensable, neither can the navigation of the river, or any other object connected with a position near its stream, be effected, except we obtain the goodwill of those who, despite all our endeavours, have yet the means of constantly frustrating all our projects. This is not the place, however, to enter at length on this part

of the subject. We shall, moreover, have the means, it is to be hoped, not only of promoting our own commercial interests on and beyond the Indus, but of conferring the benefits resulting therefrom on countries who have hitherto seen the waters of the great river glide by only to partially provide for the mere every-day wants of an animal existence, or to be wasted and unused. The Indus has hitherto been the boundary and limit of improvement and civilisation; it may yet be made the means of their extension and diffusion, for which grand purpose, amongst many others, it was evidently intended to be a natural agent.

The general features of the Indus, in its course through Sindh, are its Delta, having eleven mouths, which, at a distance of about seventy-eight miles from the sea, unite in two great branches, the Bàgàr and the Sata. The stream, sweeping on from the north, past Sehwun, casts itself below Hyderabad, into the Falláli, which forms an island during the freshes of the line of rock on which the capital stands. This branch is almost stagnant, and scarcely navigable by the smallest boats: the rush formed by the river throws up large sand-banks, that are highly dangerous. The waters are, however, useful for purposes of agriculture, for which objects they are carefully reserved.

Between Tattah and Hyderabad the parent stream flows, in a tolerably well-defined and wide channel, a distance of about seventy miles. The immediate banks of the river are sometimes partially over-

flowed; and although in the interior is a considerable portion of land, that from its nature is naturally incapable of production, the immediate bank of the river is used for cultivation, and abundantly irrigated by the Persian wheel.

Water is ample between Tattah and Hyderabad, for all purposes of agriculture; for, although the country cannot be said to be liable to inundation to any considerable extent, depositions of water remain from one season to the other, being scarcely evaporated before they are refilled. The character of the banks of the Indus generally is of great importance, as the cultivation of Sindh depends entirely on the inundation of the river; as the expense of irrigation in the winter months, by artificially raising water, is so great, that but few patches of land can be cultivated, and these produce inferior crops, for the inundation brings with it a rich slimy deposit, of highly nurturing and productive power. Nothing is required by the labourer after the inundation but to strew seed upon the ground, which springs up from the sodden fields, and he reaps his rich crops free of all toil, and that abundantly, as described elsewhere.

About thirty miles below Bukkur the main stream flows into the Narrah and Arrul rivers, which join the Indus at Sehwun, under whose rocky buttress the Arrul sweeps during the height of inundation, up into the great lake Munchur.

A short distance below Sukkur is the Mírwar, which may be considered rather a canal than a

branch of the river, and passes the fort of Digri, the stronghold of Mír Ali Múrad: it is only navigable for boats of small burden, and then only during the freshes.

An old branch of the river, called in the country "Púráná Duryá," is inundated during very high floods, and loses itself in the Thurr, or desert lying between Sindh and Cutch.

The value of the river Indus, like the Nile, is fully appreciated by both the foreigner and the native. The merchant regards it as a source of wealth in the transit of his goods; and whether for subsistence, voyaging, or pleasure, the Sindhian looks to his river, and is never so happy as when bathing in its waters or floating on its bosom.

Although flowing through Mahommedan countries, whose inhabitants, by their religious tenets, studiously refrain from observances partaking of idolatry, the Indus is as much reverenced mentally as if it were deified into a Nirbudda, Ganges, or Krishtna, by the Hindús. The poorer classes, who subsist on and by the produce of its floods, so far forget the rules of their faith as to hold festivals to the increase of its waters, on which occasion a small votive offering, in the shape of a lamp, tied to a piece of sprouting rice or grain, emblematic of fertility, is committed to the stream. The Pullah fisherman always makes a salaam, and pours a few drops on his frail bark, ere launching himself on the river. The Hindús have days of public rejoicing and festivity on the first appearance of

inundation; and at Shikarpúr a large population of that faith always, in true cockney style, devoted *Sunday* to a general fair, or *Mélah*, on the banks of a large canal near the city, during the period the country was well supplied by the floods. In a Hindú country the Indus or Sindh river would occupy a niche in the Pantheon, as much as those above referred to, or as old father Nilus did throughout Egypt, in his feminine garb of Isis.

As a beverage, the water of the Indus is considered particularly salubrious, but, as it resembles the Nile in its muddy character, it is necessary to render it limpid before drinking, either by alum or almonds: being allowed to remain for some hours in the water vessel, or by suffering it to stand for any length of time, the water of the Indus will throw its own deposit, and become beautifully limpid. The necessity of artificially clearing it, however, the Sindhian can never understand; to him, the more muddy, the more delicious. Near the villages on the banks of the Indus, the people seem to pass their lives in the river, the men engaged in fishing, the women in washing, and the children and dogs gambolling together, in the most boisterous delight. The colour of the Indus water is generally of a dull leaden hue, and exhibits little change throughout the year. A very learned report on its chemical properties was drawn up by the late lamented Dr. Lord. Clay and lime are the principal ingredients; it is not, therefore, of so tonical a quality as the water of the Nile, which has in solution a

certain proportion of oxide of iron; but the Indus becomes much clearer after filtering, or throwing its silt by stagnation.

Karrachi is evidently the only port in Sindh whose geographical position renders it suitable for constant communication between the sea and Indus, either by means of the Ghizry Creek to the town of Gharra, or the overland route to Tattah. This creek, there is every reason to believe, was formerly met by the river, for traces of its former course still remain, and there are the ruins of a large city near its present extremity, which may have been ancient Tattah, or the famous port of Díwál Sindy. From this starting point also routes lead to Hyderabad, Larkhana, Shikarpúr, and the whole of Upper Sindh, thence to the countries north-west beyond, or northerly on the river; but these land routes will eventually be superseded if the river navigation be effectually carried out. The rocky entrance to this harbour, with the additional force of a stormy season, like that of the monsoon, appear to offer insurmountable obstacles to its entry by steamers, for certain months of the year: but there are those who consider it practicable; and until the experiment be tried it must not be pronounced otherwise.

The sea-boat of Sindh is the Dingi, much resembling that in common use, for the whole of the coasting trade of Western India, and often manned by the Jokias. Arab Dows and Buglahs also frequent the port of Karrachi. The Sindhians cannot compete with their neighbours of Cutch: as

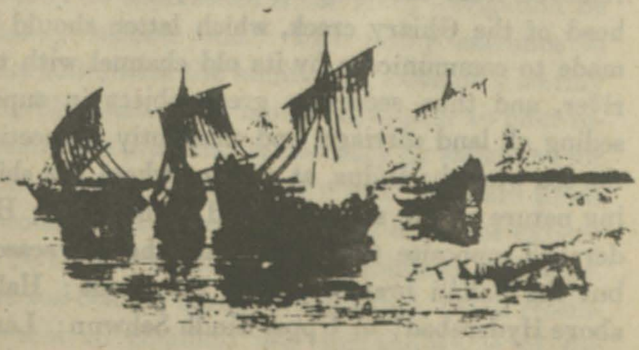
sailors these bear the highest character of any in the Indian Ocean.

The ports in the Delta can only be depended on during a very brief period, and are at all times uncertain, and liable to an inconstant flow of water, and impediments of sand-banks, in the most fickle part of the whole stream. Any advantages proposed by the merchant in getting his goods at once on the river are thus often counteracted; and Vikkur, the last remaining place of this sort, of the many now deserted, is but partially resorted to.

The principal trading ports of the river Indus are in Sindh:—Vikkur on the Hajamri mouth, and Mughrubí on the Sír, both in the Delta; Karrachi to the westward of the river; Tattah, opposite which is a bunder or landing place; but the town itself, as before described, is at present inconveniently removed from the river for trade; Garrah, at the head of the Ghizry creek, which latter should be made to communicate by its old channel with the river, and thus secure a great object in superseding all land carriage, and constantly connecting the sea with the Indus, at a point where the shifting nature of the stream would be nullified; Hyderabad, opposite the city during the dry season, but the Falláli branch during the floods; Halla, above Hyderabad; in Upper Sindh Sehwun; Larkhana, by the Larkhana canal, which runs close under that town; Shikarpúr, having a fine canal called the Sindh, which was re-opened by the British authorities, when they proposed to manage the

revenues of that town and district; Sukkur, in the river, better known to the natives as Chipri bunder; Rorí on the opposite side, and Subzulkót. There are of course various others of minor importance in Sindh, particularly on the branches of the river.

Beyond that territory are Kín Kashmor and Rozan, on the western bank, formerly Sindhian possessions, but now annexed to the Punjaub: Mittunkót, at the junction of the five streams; Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismael Khan, and Kalabagh on the main river, Bhawulpúr; Ferozepúr and Lúdiana on the Suttledge; and Múltan on the Jilum.



BOATS ON THE INDUS

CHAP. IX.

Interest attached to Ancient History of Sindh. — Alexander's Expedition. — Absence of local Records or Monuments. — Hindú Government. — Cause of Muhommedan Invasion. — Invasion. — Cruel end of Arab General. — Omiade and Abbaside Dynasties. — Súmrahs. — Sumahs. — Urghúns. — Tirkhans. — Akbar Padúsha conquers Sindh — Annexed permanently to Mogul Empire. — Viceroys from Hindostan. — Date of Accession of Kaloras. — General Review. — Ancient Cities. — Former Prosperity of Sindh.

COULD we trace any authentic history of Sindh beyond a certain period, there is no portion of the East endued with so much to recommend it to the notice of the learned or curious as being the scene of Alexander's retreat, when his ambitious projects were suddenly checked by the murmurings of his soldiers, and he retraced his steps to the westward, first, by means of the friendly river, which he rightly guessed must, at no very great distance, conduct him to the ocean, whence he could still farther guide his course to the Euphrates, and thence to his newly-projected seat of Eastern empire of the Greeks. Sindh is at once recognized as *Sindomana;* but whether the whole or portion of the province we have been describing bore that name during the Grecian expedition does not appear.

Beyond this similitude of title and the apparent identity of such places as Pattala with Tattah, and Crocola with Karrachi, or the peculiar geographical features of portions of the river, there is in reality nothing whatever, whether of local record or monuments, to attest that here the great conqueror was; and, except the accounts given by his own historians, all is a blank, for neither by Eastern history nor legend, local or contemporaneous, have we been able to discover a single syllable respecting the great events so graphically described by such historians as Arrian and Quintus Curtius. In fact, the absence of history beyond a limited period, as applied to Sindh, also obtains over the whole of India, and perhaps in its records of some thirteen centuries we have as much as can be found in any other portion of the East, that is, of the countries lying between the Indus and Ganges. It may be observed, however, that the reasons are obvious why in Sindh there are none of those monuments which, to the westward of the river and farther north, are still to be seen of Grecian, Bactrian, Scythian, or Sassanian conquests, in the shape of tumuli, topes, coins, and sites of cities. The spots chosen for these depositories were not liable to be obliterated by foreign agency, and they prove, after a lapse of twenty centuries, their value as infallible records of the past, but on or near the river such could not be the case; and literally to have trusted to such records in Sindh would have been to have written history

in sand. The nature of the soil did not admit of it; and though there may be every reason to imagine that he, whose whole life was a study how to acquire posthumous fame, (even to obtaining a niche in the Pantheon,) was most anxious to leave some splendid monuments, which should attest to after ages the magnitude of his deeds on the immediate scene of their enacting, he could not have found the two indispensables of a stable spot on which to erect them, or any sufficiently lasting materials for his purpose: thus it is that throughout Sindh the most diligent and well-directed antiquarian research has altogether failed to discover one single reminiscence of verified classical antiquity, or to incontestably fix one locality as that described by Alexander's historians; nor have we a single record of the kingdoms who sprung up on the Grecian downfal, and who we know possessed this country, as well as those beyond the Indus. To the east, many cities alluded to by comparatively modern historians, as Minágara, Munsúra, and others, known to have flourished and have attained a great degree of splendour, are sought for in their ruins, but in vain.

Commencing, then, with the date of authentic history, we begin at the earliest period mentioned by Mahommedan historians, who recorded the conquest of this country by the overwhelming arms of the Prophet's followers, and who appear to have taken so little trouble to ascertain anything re-

specting it prior to that event, that they only go as far back as half a century, describing a dynasty of Brahmins or priests whom they found in possession of the throne of Sindh. It is, moreover, highly probable that, in their blind bigotry and intolerable fanaticism for the propagation of the true faith, every record was destroyed in common with the temples and other symbols of the "idolatry of the Pagans;" for we find in India that the only depositories of history, and they are very few, are to be found with the priests of a religion now looked upon as a heresy, but in reality the remnant of that which there is reason to believe pervaded the whole continent of India, and even Central Asia, so late as the fifth century of our era. These historical records, then, in the keeping of the Jain priests (the remnants of ancient Búdhism), as still seen in the present day, were so in the period of the Sindhian conquest, and, being preserved with the other sacred books of the temples, they shared their fate, and were, in all probability, destroyed in that iconoclastic fury which pre-eminently distinguished the followers of Mahomed during their early wars.

Between the period, therefore, of Alexander's expedition and the subjugation of Sindh by the Moslems, we have no accounts whatever, traditional or written, local or foreign: the opportunities possessed by the latter to acquire such were lost or neglected, and thus their historians proceed only to

tell the tale of one of the first conquests to the eastward made by the disciples of the new faith. We know that the country was under a Hindú government; and there is every reason to believe that it was found by the Mahommedans in the same state as left by Alexander; but the intermediate space of time, which would have been a continued link between these two most important periods, and fraught with the highest interest, is completely lost.

In the seventh century of our era, and which is the beginning of that founded by Mahomed, a Brahmin or priest, named Chuch, obtained the sovereignty of Sindh in consequence of his personal beauty having attracted the attention of the queen of the then reigning monarch. Chuch was in the sovereign's confidence, and in the habit of attending his master in the private apartments of the palace, for the transaction of business; on one occasion the lady, having gratified her curiosity by looking on the conference from behind the purdah or curtain, became violently enamoured of Chuch, and lost no time in acquainting the object of her passion that he had inspired it. The wily priest, after a short attempt at concealment, subsequently fell in with the lady's views, and matters were so arranged that, in the event of the king's death, Chuch should snatch the sceptre. This (as might be expected) was not long ere it occurred, and the Brahmin was declared heir to the immense kingdom

which then appertained to Sindh, so powerful and rich that it is said to have excited the jealousy of the neighbouring princes of India, who, aiding the more legitimate claimants to its possession, made immediate war on the usurper; but this blow, by consummate tact and a little treachery, he managed to defeat, and was at length firmly seated as a ruler. His reign extended to a space of forty years, and he left the throne to his eldest son Dahir.

During this reign the Mahommedan invasion occurred, and the immediate causes which led to it are variously stated by different historians. It is not, however, a matter of any very great moment; for it is obvious that in those days very trivial reasons were sufficient to justify Mahommedan aggression, and there are also grounds for concluding that Sindh, from its intrinsic wealth and position, as opening a high road to India, had previously been marked for early conquest, and the slightest opportunity gladly seized for fixing a quarrel. The generally received story is, that certain boats, laden with rich freights from the island of Ceylon, consisting of female slaves and other valuables, intended for the Khalif at Damascus, were detained by stress of weather at the mouths of the Indus, and that certain predatory subjects of Sindh had pillaged the boats, and forcibly carried away the slaves. News of this outrage having reached the Khalif Abdúl Múlk of the Omiade dynasty, he took

immediate measures to revenge the insult; the arrangement of the expedition being entrusted to Hijjaj bin Yúsúf, then governor of the two Iraks. Abdul Mulk died whilst the preparations were in progress, but his son Walid relaxed none of his father's efforts, and the command of the army was given to Bin Cassim, a youthful general, and cousin of Hijjaj. The *materiél*, consisting of catapultas and other engines of war, was forwarded by sea; and in the year 710 A.D. the whole force reached Diwal, the then principal port of Sindh, and supposed to have been situated to the westward of the Delta, as elsewhere alluded to. This place boasted a temple of renowned sanctity, and its destruction by the powerful means employed, for the first time, by the Mahommedans, and capture of the place, after a desperate resistance, occasioned a general despondency throughout the country. After encountering various oppositions, and difficulties, Bin Cassim reached Neirunkót, occupying the same site as Hyderabad, the modern capital and one of the strongest positions in Sindh. After a mere feint of resistance, it was treacherously surrendered by the governor, and the victorious Moslems celebrated the successes of their arms here as at Diwal, by converting the Pagan temples into mosques and places of Mahommedan prayer.

The chief capital of Sindh in those days was Alór, situated on the eastern bank at the northern extremity, nearly opposite Rorí and Bukkur: the

lower country had also its chief city, which the Mahommedans denominated Brahmanabad, or "founded by Brahmins." Daḥir, the king, had hitherto considered the invasion of his territory lightly, and appears to have offered but feeble resistance to the torrent about to overwhelm him; but on learning the capture of Neirunkót his fears began to be seriously aroused, and he instantly despatched a considerable force to prevent the farther progress of the Faithful: but the Pagans were defeated in a severe engagement, and the tide of conquest rolled on unopposed even to the very gates of the capital, when the unfortunate prince determined to strike one decisive blow for his throne and kingdom, and mustering all his powers, came out, in the words of the historian, at the head of an immense army. "They say he had thirty thousand infantry in advance of his cavalry and elephants; the prince himself, seated in a richly ornamented howdah, animated and aroused his soldiers whilst he placed them in battle array. He was attended by two beautiful female slaves, who administered wine and refreshment to their master. A terrific engagement ensued under the walls of the capital, and was only decided in favour of the Faithful at the close of a bloody day, in consequence of the elephants of the Pagans becoming maddened and infuriated by the constant discharge of fireworks (Naphtha balls) used by the Arabs, which ignited the howdahs; confounding friend with foe, the

gigantic beasts turned on their own troops and trampled all before them. The confusion created was fatal to the Pagans, for the Mahommedans profiting by the occasion made a furious charge, and carried the day. The carnage which ensued was dreadful. Amongst the elephants which fled was that of the prince; and the unfortunate Dahir receiving an arrow in the neck, was carried out of the field mortally wounded: his elephant rushed to the river, and the attendants, discovering the body of their master, buried it on the spot to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. But in the mean time, the female slaves being captured, revealed the circumstance of Dahir's death: search being made, the body was procured, and the head stuck on a spear as a trophy. The Moslems, finding the victory complete, caused a general thanksgiving to be proclaimed for the success of their arms; and, as usual, mosques were erected on the ruins of the temples, or those places were transformed for purposes of Mahommedan worship. The army of the Faithful entered and took possession of the Sindhian capital on the 9th of the month Ramzan, in the year of Hejira 93 (A. D. 711.)"

Such is the historian's account of the fall of the Hindú power and first success of the Mahommedan arms on the banks of the Indus. Various native tribes (as they are called), seeing all hope of resistance at an end, embraced the Mahommedan faith, whilst others fled to the western mountains, where

they colonized. The sons of Dahir made a stand in a fort bearing the name of Alexander, but they were overpowered and put to the sword: indeed, throughout the whole of this campaign, the most unrelenting cruelty and intolerance appears to have been exercised until the country was completely in the hands of its Arab invaders.

To continue this part of the narrative as far as it may be interesting, it is only necessary to add the romantic though cruel end of the conqueror Bin Cassim. Amongst the spoils taken at Alór were two daughters of the Rajah, so renowned for their beauty that they were sent with other trophies to the Khalif as appropriate additions to his harem; but with true Rajpút spirit these women, actuated by revenge, denounced Bin Cassim as the despoiler of their virginity previous to transmitting them to his master's seraglio. Incensed at this flagrant outrage and insult, the Khalif, without any inquiry as to the truth or falsehood of the accusation, proceeded at once to act upon it, and with his own hand immediately wrote an order that Bin Cassim should be subjected to the lingering and horrible death of being sewn up in a raw hide, and thus transmitted to Damascus. The royal mandate reached the young general whilst in mid career, adding fresh conquests to his master's arms, and he immediately and without a murmur submitted to its cruel terms, and in three days sunk under the torture. On the body being shown by the

Khalif to the women, as an exulting proof of his absolute power and fearful revenge, they confessed their motives and the total innocence of their victim; but "having reaped the vengeance due for a father's death on his murderer, they were prepared to submit to any fate." The miserable despot saw too late the consequence of his injustice, and caused the daughters of Dahir to be dragged to death by horses. A splendid mausoleum, erected by the Khalif to Bin Cassim, was long seen at Damascus.

For forty years subsequent to this period the territory of Sindh continued to be a dependency of the Omiade dynasty, and then reverted to the Abbasides, who expelled the functionaries employed by the former, and under whom for nearly three centuries its history only presents the lists of a succession of hakims, or governors, deputed to its management, and accounts of various internal dissensions, until, in the year 416 H. or A.D. 1025, the great champion of the faith, Mahmúd of Ghuzni, annexed it to his dominions, with other conquests, and his viceregents ruled throughout it in his name. But on the downfall of the Ghuznivis and rise of the Ghorian monarchy, a tribe named Súmrah openly declared their independence, having previously obtained sufficient influence to secure the hereditary government of the country. This clan was of Arab extraction, introduced with the invading army, and had long become influential as landholders in Sindh.

The Súmrahs count a succession of twenty princes, and ruled for a period of about three hundred or three hundred and fifty years, though there is much difference of opinion amongst the few historians who have written on the subject, as to the number of these chiefs, and period of duration of their power. The Súmrahs were succeeded, after being overthrown by the tribe of Súmah, who appear to have been of Hindú extraction, descended from those who were driven to embrace Islamism on the first invasion. These chiefs took the title of *Jam*, and counted fifteen rulers. The country is reported to have acquired somewhat of its ancient reputation under their rule; and they reconquered some of the older possessions of Sindh, to the eastward, particularly Cutch, the present Rajpút gentry of which province, or Jharijal s, trace their origin to the Súmahs or Summahs of Sindh, thus by a curious incident bringing back the religion to its Hindú origin after a lapse of some nine centuries. The Súmahs were not independent princes, but ruled in Sindh as viceregents of the Pattan powers of Hindostan; their allegiance was, however, rather nominal than real, since they exercised an unlimited authority, even to carrying on aggressive wars with neighbouring states.

In the downfal of the Pattan dynasty on Baber's establishment of the Mogul power in India, Sindh was invaded by Shah Beg Arghún, who, in the

year of H. 926. (A.D. 1519), being driven from Candahar by Baber, made a descent on the country, and terminated the Súmah government under the last of its Jams, named Firoz. This prince, in the first instance, offered a vigorous resistance to Shah Beg, but was overpowered, and fled to Guzírat; the conqueror, however, reinstated him as his governor, over one half of the whole province of Sindh, fixing his residence at Tattah. Shah Beg was not long allowed to retain his conquest unmolested: Baber harassed him, and compelled him to retreat to various parts of his territories. Bukkur, which he had strongly fortified, using the materials of the old Hindú city of Alór for that purpose, and which was regarded as the stronghold of the country, was taken by the Moguls; this, and the disaffection of Jam Firoz, induced a degree of despondency in the mind of Shah Beg, who died, it is said, by self-destruction in A.H. 928 (A.D. 1521). His son, Shah Hussún, succeeded his father, and his first act was to expel Jam Firoz, and otherwise retrieve the falling fortunes of his house. He marched with a large force to Múltan, besieged and took that place, after a defence which lasted for a year, accompanied by the most horrible famine; for the obstinacy evinced by the inhabitants he committed them to a general massacre. Dissensions in other parts of his dominions distracted Shah Hussún's attention from the north, and Múltan revolted, and declared for the emperor Baber.

Rao Kingar, from Cutch, at the same time invaded the southern extremity: this latter was, however, completely defeated, and with various successes Shah Hussún retained partial power, until Humayún, the son of Baber (whose unfortunate flight, and birth of the great Akbar in the desert fort of Omarkót, in Sindh, form a romantic episode in the history of Hindostan, under the Moguls), came to Sindh in 947 H. (A.D. 1540). The prince was at first baffled by the impediments to his progress thrown in his way by Shah Hussún, but matters were eventually accommodated between them, and the Urghun left in greater authority than previously. But Mirza Ísa Tirkhan, who had succeeded to the government of Tattah, broke out into open insurrection, and Shah Hussún, being worn out and infirm, died ere he could stem the rebellion of the Tirkhans, who now seized the country, and bloody wars ensued between various factions striving for favour. Mirza Isa engaged Portuguese mercenaries to assist him, who, during his absence from Tattah, fired and pillaged the city. This is the only mention made of these the first European conquerors of India, as seeking this degrading employment, under native powers. This state of things continued in Sindh until the year 999 H. (A.D. 1590), when Akbar, the illustrious emperor, put a stop to intestine wars and disputed fealty on the part of its governors, by subjugating the whole of Sindh under his general, Khan Khanan, and

annexing it permanently to the throne of Delhi. Janí Beg Tirkhan, in whose time this occurred, proceeded personally to offer his submission to the emperor, was received graciously, and a title conferred upon him. During the reign of Jehangir, the Mogul viceregents in Sindh had also the care of the Kandahar and Múltan territories, the Tirkhans ruled in Sindh, as deputies of the Delhi monarchy, until the reign of Shah Jelan, when governors were appointed from Hindostan direct: of these there is a list of thirty-two, down to the year A. D. 1736, when the Kaloras, a tribe of fighting fanatics, obtained power, and effected a complete change in the government of Sindh. Long ere this, the extensive dominion under the Hindús had been dismembered, and it presented a mere remnant of its former grandeur. The territory now appertaining to Sindh has gradually dwindled to its present limited boundaries.

Having thus rapidly sketched a period of nearly 850 years (and to do more would only be to describe a succession of intestine wars and revolutions), a general review of the history of Sindh for that period leads to the conclusion that, under its Hindú possessors it was a rich, flourishing, and extensive monarchy, but that, subsequently becoming the prey of conquerors, who, while they were generally involved in contests for the supremacy, paid no attention to the improvement of the country or maintenance of the imperial authority, this valuable territory dwindled at length

into a mere soubah, or dependency of Hindostan. The prosperous state in which the Mohammedans found Sindh is fully attested by their own historians. The extent of its territory embraced a dominion of which the greatest independent state of the present day, in or beyond India (the Punjaub), only formed a portion. At length a few wandering Durweshes obtained the supreme power. The original population was lost in the first and subsequent influxes of foreigners, and a few Sarsat Brahmins, who claim to be descended from Chuch, are the only remnants of the aborigines and rulers of the soil who have retained any distinctive marks of their ancient faith.

Broken in spirit, and borne down by oppressions, social, religious, and political, the descendants of the once powerful lords of Sindh have never dared the attempt of shaking off the yoke of the oppressor; once, indeed, a Súmah, converted to the faith of his conquerors, struggled to regain the supremacy snatched by them from his ancestors, and for a while enjoyed it; but those who clung to the religion of their ancestors, despite the bribes and threats of the Moslem invaders, ever have remained servile and degraded on their native soil, to the latest generation, and their condition, varying in many points, may yet be compared to that of the Copts under the Turkish rule, where the descendant of the ancient lords of Egypt is degraded from his privileges, and oppressed in every imaginable way that haughty bigotry can devise, while their in-

telligence and capacity for business, as writers and accountants, render their service highly valuable to the present possessors of the land, who remunerate them with one hand, and chastise them with the other.

Social oppression, which never fails to produce moral degradation, has had this effect equally upon the Copt of Egypt and the Hindú of Sindh. Both once professed greater purity of manners and strictness of observance in morals and religion, than the Moslems, who are now their masters; but both are now equally bad in all that should distinguish them, and losing the better features of their own character, have adopted the worst of their conquerors.

All the peculiarities and unsullied pride of caste, which distinguishes the Hindú under his own or the British government, has been completely lost in Sindh; and while under the Mahommedan rule in various parts of India, a remnant of the original possessors of the soil have adhered to their ancient faith, and growing strong in it, have found some champion to assert their rights, and possibly regain them, never has such a symptom of hopeful independence appeared in Sindh. In India we have seen the dormant spirit of an injured people rousing itself to retributive vengeance, flinging off the yoke of Islam, regaining their monarchies, and making the bigoted Moslem tremble at the Pagan's power; but in Sindh oppression has rooted out all patriotism, and the broken

spirited Hindú becomes a helpless servant to his Moslem tyrant, and a willing inducer of his own extreme degradation.

Mahommedan governments have seldom proved conducive to improvement and civilisation, the reason of which may be found in the first great fact that the fanaticism of the Moslems always induces them to make converts instead of ameliorating the condition of the people; the Seyuds, who are commonly the advisers of the prince, taking great personal interest in this matter, while their nominal master is well satisfied to draw upon his subjects for the means of personal gratification for himself and his foreign adherents, without seeking by the improvement of agriculture or commerce to render the capabilities greater, but rather to increase oppression by demands not easily met. Mahommedans also bring into the country a vast throng of mercenaries, all ready to force every thing in their power from the helpless people of the subjugated country; and consequently, although some unique instances are on record of Moslem conquerors devoting themselves to introduce wise and benevolent laws among their Hindú subjects, and to improve equally their condition and character, the exception proves the rule; and the contrary, to a most frightful extent, has commonly distinguished the Mahommedan rule in India.

Sindh is a forcible example of this general t; and its degraded condition, whether we consider

political power or its commercial and agricultural value, during the eight hundred years that have passed since its conquest by the Moslems, affords undeniable proof of the selfish policy and misgovernment of its rulers.

Of the ancient Hindú cities of Sindh the most important were Alór, the capital of the upper division, and Brahmanabad of the lower: the position of the former is evinced in its ruins, but the latter has not been accurately fixed. Bambúra, a ruined place in the Delta, is supposed to be the site. Tattah was a thriving and populous city, the seat of government of the Súmrahs, Súmahs, Ghorians, and Tirkhans. Mirza Jani Beg, of the latter tribe, on the invasion of Sindh by Akbar's armies, destroyed it in the sixteenth century. It recovered for a short time; but the government being subsequently removed by the Kaloras to Hyderabad, it still further declined in size and importance. Diwal or Dibal was the principal port of Sindh, and situated on the western branch of the Delta: it was ruined at the Mahommedan invasion. Neirunkót occupied the site of the present Hyderabad (the latter being founded by Ghúllam Shah Kalora). Nasirpúr, near Hyderabad, is alluded to by geographers as one of the most beautiful cities in Sindh; but it declined in consequence of the desertion of the main stream. (The learned D'Anville considers this to be the Mansúra of the Arabs, and a city of great importance.) Sehwun, vari-

ously called Sewistán (from the territory in which it is situated), has from the earliest accounts occupied a prominent position in Sindhian history: here the most furious engagements were fought, and its possession appears to have often decided the question of supremacy over the whole country. It was at one period under a distinct authority, and bears evident remains of its former size and population.

Loharry, or Rorí, is only referred to in connection with Bukkur, which was founded by the Mohammedans: both places owe their origin to religious establishments of Seyuds, and holy men, whose memories are revered to the present day, and whose tombs adorn the river's banks. The title Bukkur or "Bakar," signifies in Arabic "the dawn," and is said to have been given to it by a holy Seyud some years after its foundation. The Urghúns considered this as their capital, and Shah Beg of that tribe, as we have seen, fortified it, using the materials of the old city of Alór. The tomb of Pír Khizir, near Bukkur, is that particularly sacred spot to which the Pullah fish pay so much respect!

There are various other towns mentioned by historians, as well as ruins and traditions of ancient Hindú cities, as far westward of the river as the mountains of Bilúchistan. The more inquiry is instituted into the condition of the country prior to and at its conquest, the more does it become

apparent that it possessed a degree of populousness and general prosperity in those days, under the Hindú rule, which it continued gradually to lose, and that the ancient splendour of its numerous cities amply testify to its wealth and importance.

The ruins of Khodabad above Hyderabad should be mentioned in connection with ancient towns, as there are Brahmins in Sindh who attribute the site of this place to that of Brahmanabad; it was a favourite place of residence with the early chiefs of Talpúr, who have some fine tombs here.

CHAP. X.

Kalora and Talpúr Dynasties. — First Settlement of Kaloras in Sindh. — Adam Shah's Sanctity. — Kaloras obtain Territory. — Punished by the Emperor for contumacy. — Núr Mahomed obtains Authority. — Nadir Shah invades Sindh, and mulcts Núr Mahomed. — Ghúlam Shah and Uttur Khan dispute Succession. — Ghúlam Shah prevails. — First Establishment of British Factory. — Uttur Khan intrigues — Is defeated, and submits. — Accession of Sirafraz Khan — His cruelty to Talpúrs. — Revolution. — Ubdul Nubí murders Bijar Khan Talpúr — and flees to Kilat.

Fertile as Sindhian history is in examples of the rapid rise and fall of dynasties, the two last of the Kaloras and Talpúrs, the first a religious and the latter a pastoral tribe, merit particular attention for their intrinsic interest as characteristic of the sudden changes of power peculiar to the constitution of society in Sindh, but have also now an additional value from the circumstance of the British Government in India having under the Kaloras first obtained a footing in Sindh, while under the Talpúrs the country fell as a conquest to their arms.

It will be better to give the account of the rise and downfal of the Kaloras, a tribe of wandering religious mendicants, in much of the graphic style of the historian who collected the materials on the spot, at the beginning of the present cen-

tury, from native records or oral tradition.* In the preceding chapter the history of Sindh has been brought down to the year A.D. 1736, the last period of the administration of the country by the súbhidars or governors appointed by the Delhi throne. These appear also to have farmed the revenues and resources of Sindh; for the inability to fulfil his contracts by one Sadik Ali Khan at the above period, induced Núr Mahomed Kalora to take it up, and he thus became the first of his family who was invested with power as a ruler. But for nearly three centuries previous to this the Kaloras had been settled in Sindh, and it appears that about the year 1450 of the Christian era, in the time of the government of the Súmah tribes in Sindh, Mian Mahomed Mihidy, a fakir or religious fanatic, blessed (in Mahommedan phrase) the country of Sindh by his arrival, and illuminated the hearts and minds of the Faithful, who resorted in great numbers to his Holiness. One of the participators of the benefits of his wisdom and sanctity was Adam Shah, a Bilúchi of the tribe of Kalora, and of the Abbaside family. This worthy disciple succeeded his pastor in his holy capacity when the latter departed for Mecca.

Adam Shah's followers multiplied in great numbers, and after his death his fame and influence were perpetuated through six generations of his

* Mr. Crow.

lineal descendants, all regularly succeeding each other in the patriarchal chair.

At length, from the great accumulation of adherents and attendants, it became necessary for the body to study some means of maintenance more permanent and adequate to their increasing wants than precarious and confined contributions from disciples, and for this purpose they forcibly possessed themselves of lands from different Zamindars, and began to cultivate for themselves. This acquisition of territory took place about the latter end of the seventeenth century.

The Zamindars, provoked by these usurpations, joined together and had recourse to arms; but, in every endeavour to expel the Kaloras, were defeated by the sturdy saints. They were obliged, therefore, to carry their wrongs before the governors of the country. The governors, alarmed at the growing power and encroachments of this holy body, which rendered no account to the revenues of the state, heartily took up the cause of the Zamindars, and sent some troops against the Kaloras, but these also were disgracefully repulsed in repeated attempts to dislodge the tribe. Sindh being at this time a province of the Mogul empire, the governors reported this state of things in the country to the Prince Moizudín, whose residence was then at Múltan, and who immediately sent a detachment from his army to assist the governors in maintaining authority. The Mogul troops, after an obsti-

nate battle with the mendicants, completely routed them, and took Dín Mahomed, the then head of the band, prisoner. He was brought to the presence, and there, by royal command, punished for his rebellion by being chopped to pieces with battle-axes!

The fakirs, alarmed at this terrible example, left their habitations, and flew to Kilat, where they raised Mian Nasir Mahomed, the son of the late Dín Mahomed, to the supremacy, as head of the whole tribe. When two or three years had elapsed, Mian Nasir Mahomed proceeded to the presence of the prince, at Múltan, implored forgiveness of his father's contumacy, and pity on his own miserable condition; and having obtained the royal mercy, and an amnesty for all former delinquencies, returned to Sindh, and settled himself and followers in their ancient localities.

Nasir Mahomed died about the year A.D. 1708, and his son, Mian Yar Mahomed, succeeded him. The young man resolved, upon a review of the affairs of himself and adherents, to repair to and lay his respects at the foot of the Mogul throne. This proved a fortunate determination, for he was received with great compassion, and sent back with rank and honour, a title being conferred upon him, as well as a jahgir (or gift) of a district: he was called Khuda Yar Khan (or the friend of God). From this period the succeeding greatness of this holy stock may be dated. The popularity and

prosperity of Khúda Yar Khan increased till his death, when his sons, Mian Núr Mahomed, and Mian Daúd Khan, struggled for succession to the supreme authority.

Mian Núr Mahomed's star prevailed, however, and in A.D. 1717 he also obtained from Mahomed Shah the title of Khúda Yar Khan, and the province of Sewistan (Sehwun). Upon some cause or other, not explained, it happened that Mir Ubdalla Khan, the Brahoi, chief of Kilat, fell out with, and attacked, the Kaloras in Sindh. A bloody battle ensued, in which Ubdalla Khan was killed, and the victory gave increased celebrity to Mian Núr Mahomed's name. A few years afterwards his fortune rose to the highest pinnacle of greatness, cherished by the continuance of the favour of Mahomed Shah, who, upon a vacancy taking place, appointed him to the government of thê Súbah of Tattah (as before mentioned). In the person of Mian Núr Mahomed, the authority, which was at first a usurpation of itinerants, became legitimated, and the descendants of mendicants elevated to the governors of Sindh. The stock, however, being held in holy veneration, religious prejudice combined with worldly power to awe the public mind, and many features of the country at the present day testify to the lasting impression of this double influence.

The year succeeding Mian Núr Mahomed's accession to the government of Tattah, which was

1739, the approach of Nadir Shah threatened Sindh. From the time of this monarch's mounting the throne of Persia to his investing Candahar, Mian Núr Mahomed had been most unremittingly assiduous in rendering his respects and obedience by letter; but hearing of Nadir Shah's rapid conquest of India, and Mahomed Shah's cession of all the countries to the west of the river Attock, from the Dairajat, Shikarpúr, Bukkur, Sewistan, Nasirpúr, and the Súbah of Tattah to the sea, he conceived great dread and distrust; and, notwithstanding the kindest assurances of honour and protection with which Nadir Shah encouraged him, he refused allegiance, and fled to the fortress of Omarkót. Thither the king pursued him, and took him prisoner. He was confined for some time, till at last Nadir Shah listened to his penitence and submission, released him, and on his paying a fine of one crore of rupees in specie and goods (a million sterling), restored him to the government of Sindh, with the title of Shah Kúli Khan. As hostages for his good behaviour, however, and payment of a fixed tribute of about twenty lacs of rupees (120,000*l.*) annually, the Persian king, on leaving the country, took with him three of his sons, namely, Múrad Yar Khan, Uttur Khan, and Ghúlam Shah Khan.

After Nadir Shah's departure, Mian Núr Mahomed waged war against the Governor of Cutch, on the part of the Rajah of Luckput, the former having been guilty of some insolence and depreda-

tions. Mian Núr Mahomed besieged him in a strong fort he possessed on the frontier, reduced it, and took him prisoner. He next called to account Rajah Ijmal, the governor of Lahori Bunder, who, previously to the entrance of Nadir Shah into the country, had sent some armed boats up the Indus as high as Nasirpúr, and plundered the town. Mian Núr Mahomed, not having had leisure to retaliate this injury before, now sent a force with his son Khúdadad Khan, who in a short time took Darajah fort; and in a succeeding battle the Rajah Ijmal himself was killed, and his whole territory possessed by Núr Mahomed's troops.

About the year A.D. 1747, Nadir Shah was assassinated, and the three sons of Mian Núr Mahomed, who had been taken away by the king as hostages, availed themselves of this event to obtain their release, and return to their father's court.

At this period the Affghan empire of the Dúranis was founded by Ahmed Khan Sudozi, originally a Patan chief of consequence, who had embraced the service of Nadir Shah, and was one of the officers afterwards of his presence. Taking advantage of the king's death, and his possession of a principal part of the royal treasure, he hastened to Candahar, and proclaimed himself without opposition. The fort of Candahar having been almost demolished by Nadir Shah, Ahmed Khan built a new one at about two miles distance, and gave it the name, which it now bears, of "Ahmed

Shahy." He wrote a kind letter to Mian Núr Mahomed, and departed on his expedition against Hindostan. Several severe engagements took place between his troops and those of Delhi. Mahomed Shah's prime minister at last fell: nevertheless the Patan army was discomfited, and Ahmed Shah obliged to return to his new capital. He set himself vigorously to prepare for another invasion, and again led his troops against India. In this second enterprise, after repeated battles in the vicinity of Lahore with Moun-ud-Deen Khan, he succeeded in his conquest of the empire. Whilst he was employed in this undertaking, Mian Núr Mahomed's discharge of his tribute and respect became irregular and capricious. Relieved from the affairs of Hindostan, therefore, Ahmed Shah turned his steps towards Sindh, and encamped in Sewistan. Mian Núr Mahomed taking the alarm fled at his approach to the borders of the desert, where he fell sick and died.

Upon this event, the chiefs of Sindh swore fealty to his eldest son, Múrad Yab Khan, and joined to his report of his father's death their solicitations to Ahmed Shah, the Dúrani monarch, that the government of Sindh might be conferred on him. Ahmed Shah honoured their memorial with compliance, and having appointed Múrad Yab Khan to succeed his father with the title of Shah Nuwaz Khan, returned to Candahar.

Múrad Yab Khan, during his administration, at

tacked the chief of the district and bunder of Kukralla, called likewise Shah Bunder, and after many bloody conflicts got complete possession of his territory, which he then allowed him to ransom. A few years had elapsed when about A.D. 1756, the nobles and officers of the court, disgusted on many accounts with Múrad Yab Khan's government, deposed and confined him, and raised his brother, Ghúlam Shah Khan, to the Musnud of Sindh. Uttur Khan, who was the next in age, was at this time at the court of Candahar, and hearing with envy of his younger brother's elevation, determined to unseat him, and for this purpose exerted himself with several of the principal officers of state, and procured an order from the king for the succession in his own name, with which he made his appearance in Sindh, and the chiefs and grandees of the country, not choosing to dispute the authority of the king's firman, resorted to his standard, while Ghúlam Shah Khan, after a reign of a few months only, finding himself deserted and unable to make head against his brother, fled to Joudpúr.

Uttur Khan had occupied the throne not more than a twelvemonth, when his brother Ghúlam Shah Khan returned suddenly from exile, and fell upon him in a rapid and unexpected manner with a body of troops which, by different means, he had contrived to raise, when a fierce and obstinate struggle took place, terminating in the defeat and flight of Uttur Khan, who laid his complaint before

the Dúrani throne, and the king, in order to support an authority he had himself bestowed, sent him back to re-assert his claims assisted by an army under the command of an Affghan general, upon whose arrival Ghúlam Shah Khan found himself again compelled to fly. He took refuge this time with a chief at Kukralla, and with much submission and many professions of gratitude obtained his permission and assistance to build a small fort in a corner of the district, in which he secured himself, and called it Cutch.

After the Affghan general's arrival, and Uttur Khan's restoration, the chiefs of Sindh, and the heads of the Abbaside tribe, taking the state of affairs into consideration, resolved that it would be more expedient, as calculated to secure peace, if the government of the country was divided, and thus two thirds were allotted to Uttur Khan, and one third to Ghúlam Shah Khan.

A few months only had expired after this arrangement and the return of the king's troops to Candahar, when Ghúlam Shah Khan became restless, and again fell upon his brother Uttur Khan, who, unable to oppose him, fled for protection to a chief of a tract of country on the eastern side of the Indus, where it divides into the Attock and Suttledge, and requested his aid and counsel. Buhadur Khan, the chief in question and a Daodpútra, took a lively interest in the Kalora's distress, and made preparations to assist him in recovering his government;

but Ghúlam Shah Khan did not allow them much time to mature their plans, for he became the offensive party, and very soon appeared in person in Buhadur Khan's territory, gave battle to him, slew him, and put his brother Uttur Khan to further flight.

Ghúlam Shah Khan then returned to Sindh, and tranquilly seated himself in the government of the whole country. Fortune about the same time crowned his policy, as well as his prowess, with complete success; for by his judicious management at court he obtained from Ahmed Shah a full confirmation of himself in the whole government of Sindh, with such titles as were borne by independent princes throughout the East. This must have been about the time of the establishment of the Honourable Company's factories at Tattah and Shah Bunder, which was the year 1758 A.D. Ghúlam Shah, now finding himself firmly seated, gave his attention to the state of the country. His first measure of importance was against the Khosa tribes of Sewistan, who had been very refractory under his brother, and he at length "mingled them with the dust." He despatched from existence his nephews, the sons of his eldest brother, in whom he had discovered some ambitious and aspiring views inimical to his own personal safety. Upon some grounds, not distinctly known, he wrested from his friend and protector, Jam Hijaji, the whole district of Kukralla, which a short time before had af-

forded him an asylum, and incorporated it with his own dominions. As the successor of Buhadur Khan Daodpútra still indulged much presumption on the strength of his numbers, and encouraged Uttur Khan, in the hope of regaining his country, Ghúlam Shah resolved to punish him. He therefore carried a force a second time into his country, gave him two or three humiliating defeats, and afterwards made a peace with him. He then returned to Sindh, and laid the foundation of the fort of Hyderabad. Uttur Khan, finding nothing left for him but submission, flung himself upon his brother's mercy and liberality: Ghúlam Shah received him with respect and affection, and made an honourable and ample provision for his maintenance by the exclusive grant of several jahgirs. After this union with his brother, Ghúlam Shah formed an expedition against Cutch: the chief of that country, not feeling himself equal to resist such a power, fortified himself in his capital Bhúj, and offered one of his daughters in marriage to Ghúlam Shah, who accepted the connection, and upon it concluded a peace. Ghúlam Shah did not long survive his return to Hyderabad.

Upon his demise, which was in 1771 or about that period, the chiefs and nobles of the country acknowledged his eldest son, Sirafraz Khan; and his succession was confirmed by a firman from the Affghan throne, with the title of the "Exalted." His government opened with an expedition

against Cutch. After his return, he put to death Mir Biram Khan, a chief of a tribe called Talpúrs, and which had long held the principal offices of state. The Talpúrs are of Bilúchi extraction, but held in Sindh to have so low an origin as to have been originally mere shepherds. Whether this violent measure was punishment for some overt act of treachery or the result merely of jealousy and suspicion on the part of the Kalora prince, is a point of doubt; but it is certain that the Talpúrs had, for a long period, assumed a very high control in the affairs of the Sindh Durbar. Be it as it may, the act gave great and general disgust to the people at large, by whom Mir Biram Khan was much respected and beloved, and was the cause of those revolutions which finally displaced the Kaloras, and elevated the Talpúrs to the government of Sindh, which they now retain.

Under Sirafraz Khan, the Honourable Company's factories were so much disturbed in the independence of their trade, and their respect and tranquillity so much threatened, that the government determined in 1775 to withdraw them, which was accordingly done.

Sirafraz Khan's reign continued about five years from its commencement, when the chiefs of the Bilúchi tribes and officers of the court, dissatisfied with his character and violent conduct, united, seized and confined him, and put his brother, Mian Mahomed Khan, upon the throne.

In the course of a few months his incapacity became so apparent, that they were obliged to select a person better qualified to fill the high station, and their choice fell, after much deliberation, on a nephew of Ghúlam Shah.

One year's experience proved their judgment had been again deceived, and they therefore deposed him, and elevated to the government Ghúlam Nubi Khan, a brother of Ghúlam Shah Khan. This might be in the year 1778, at which period Mir Bijar Khan, a son of Mir Biram Khan Talpúr, who at the time of his father's being put to death, as above mentioned, was absent on a pilgrimage to Mecca, arrived at Muscat. Ghúlam Nubi Khan, apprehensive of his return to head the Talpúr tribe in rebellion, employed every means in his power with the Muscat government to have him despatched or delivered up; but his endeavours to corrupt the first virtue of the Arab character were in vain. The laws of hospitality were sacredly observed to Mir Bijar Khan, and something more it is said than mere protection was afforded him. He soon after appeared in Sindh, and was immediately joined by the Talpúrs, who collected from all quarters. Ghúlam Nubi Khan, equally alert, mustered his tribe and its adherents, and attacked the Talpúrs without loss of time: a conflict ensued, in which Ghúlam Nubi, the Kalora chief, was slain.

Mir Bijar Khan, victorious and triumphant, directed his march to the fort of Hyderabad, in

which Mir Ubdúl Nubi Khan, the brother of Mian Ghúlam Nubi Khan, hearing of the latter's death, had blockaded himself, and put to death Uttur Khan, Sirafraz Khan, and Mir Mahomed Khan, with others, whose pretensions he thought might stand between him and the opening he now saw to his own ambition. In this effusion of blood, Sirafraz Khan is least to be regretted, as his cruelty in killing Mir Biram Khan had raised the vengeance of the son and tribe of that chief, and provoked the dreadful calamity of civil war. Mir Bijar Khan, on his arrival before the fort, finding it impregnable, sent many messages, replete with assurances of faith, attachment, and submission; upon the strength of which, Ubdúl Nubi Khan, with more candour perhaps than prudence, came out, and was received by Mir Bijar Khan with a sincerity and sacred adherence to his engagements seldom observed by Asiatics, when interest offers much temptation to infringement. He saluted Mir Ubdúl Nubi Khan with every honour and respect, took the first oath of allegiance to him, and seated him on the throne of his ancestor. Here it might have been hoped the wounds of the two tribes were effectually healed, for the former position of both was renewed, the Kaloras in the government of Sindh, and the Talpúrs again placed in the first rank of the service of the state, a brother of Ghúlam Shah's being on the throne, and a son of Mir Biram Khan's on its right hand.

About two years expired, when Izzut Yar Khan, a nephew of Mian Ubdúl Nubi Khan, who was among the attendants of the court of Candahar, procured for himself an order from the king and troops to carry it into effect, with both of which he arrived at Shikarpúr, on his way to Sindh. Thither Ubdúl Nubi Khan, with Mir Bijar Khan, and other chiefs, marched to oppose him, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which Mian Ubdúl Nubi Khan was victorious, and Izzut Yar Khan put to flight. The downfal of the Abbasides, or Kalora tribe, would seem to have been decreed by fate, for Mian Ubdúl Nubi Khan was prompted in some unintelligible manner to seek the destruction of Mir Bijar Khan Kalora, to whom he was indebted for his position. He essayed numerous modes in vain, but at last effected his purpose, by the co-operation of his friend, the Rajah of Joudpúr. From him two assassins were sent as messengers on business to Mir Bijar Khan, who, availing themselves of the pretence of secret communication to gain a nearer approach, plunged their daggers into his breast, and he instantly expired.

Repeated persecution having paved the way for the downfall of the Kaloras, who seemed devoted to a destruction which no experience or wisdom could ward off from the descendants of a tribe who had so dearly won the supremacy, and supported it for so long a period, under peculiar difficulties and civil dissensions, too common among semi-barbarous

people, the Talpúrs, on the murder of Mir Bijar Khan, assembled in great force at Shadadpúr, beyond Hyderabad, and proceeded to attack the seat of government. Mian Ubdúl Nubi, not thinking himself able to encounter them, fled over the mountains of Bilúchistan to Kilat, where he flung himself on the protection of Mahomed Nasir Khan Brahoi, and solicited his aid.

CHAP. XI.

Ubdúlla Khan Talpúr raises the Standard of Sovereignty.— Ubdúl Nubi Kalora invades Sindh, assisted by Kilat Chief. —Kaloras defeated.—Ubdúl Nubi supported by Joudpúr Rajah — Again defeated — Proceeds to Affghan Monarch — Obtains Assistance.—Talpúr Chief seeks Refuge at Omarkót. — Kaloras reinstated.—Chief commits outrage and is dethroned.—Mir Futteh Allí Khan Talpúr placed on the Musnud. —Kaloras again make head, assisted by the Affghan King — Again defeated.—Zemán Shah demands arrears of Tribute. —Futteh Allí Khan defends his pretensions to the Throne of Sindh.—Civil War averted.—Talpúr Chief shares the Country with his three Brothers.—Title of *Char Yar* or Four Friends.—Character of Talpúr Chiefs.—History and Form of Government of Talpúrs.—Ismael Shah and Persian Family.—Summary of Sindh History, from Mahommedan to British Conquest.

AFTER Mian Ubdúl Nubi's flight from Hyderabad, the son of Mir Bijar Khan, by name Ubdulla Khan Talpúr, with Mir Futteh Khan, nephew by the sister's side of Mir Biram Khan, deceased, and other chiefs, raised the standard of sovereignty in Sindh.

About a year after this, Mahomed Nasir Khan, the chief of Kilat, sent Mir Zohruck, his nephew, with a large body of experienced troops along with Mian Ubdúl Nubi Khan, in order to reinstate him

in his government. The whole tribe of Talpúrs, on this occasion, hastened to join the standard of Mir Ubdúlla Khan, and repaired to the field: the two armies met and fought with the greatest fury, when Mir Zohruck was killed. Mian Ubdúl Nubi fled to Joudpúr, and Mir Ubdúlla Khan returned triumphant to Hyderabad. Mian Ubdúl Nubi found on his arrival at Joudpúr, that the friendship of Maharaj Bijsing was firm and unimpaired, and therefore solicited his assistance. The Rajah kept Ubdúl Nubi with him, and sent the flower of his troops to attack the Talpúrs: Mir Ubdúlla Khan marched with his fullest force to meet them. Several days passed in cannonade and musquetry, but at length they came to a charge with the sword, which is the great test of bravery; and the Joudpúr troops, after every effort, found themselves unable to maintain the contest, and took to flight. Mian Ubdúl Nubi perceiving no hope in the present disappointed state of his affairs but from the king, repaired to his camp, and through the medium of his courtiers pressed his pitiable condition, till at last the king was induced to take up his cause, and to order a formidable body of troops with a detachment of Brahois to be got ready under the command of Mudud Khan Sirdar and another general of Nasir Khan's detachment of Brahois. Upon the arrival of Mudud Khan in Sindh, Mir Ubdúlla Khan took refuge in the fortress of Omarkót for a short time till, not thinking himself safe

there against an overwhelming force, he retreated still further. Mudud Khan, thinking it advisable for the general peace of the country, wrote to him and to the other elders of the Talpúr tribe, assuring them on the part of the king of forgiveness for the past, and inviting them to return to their duty and allegiance. The proposal was received with acquiescence and confidence, and according to agreement, after the departure of Mudud Khan, Mir Ubdúlla Khan and his tribe of Talpúrs returned and selected Mian Ubdúl Nubi Kalora as their lawful ruler, and took their places in the ranks of the court as his adherents.

Civil discord being thus quelled, and Mian Ubdúl Nubi again tranquilly seated on the Musnud of his ancestors, his former misfortunes should have taught him not to provoke new; but carried away by revenge or blinded by fatality, he perversely and unjustly put Mir Ubdúlla Khan Talpúr to death, three days after renewing his allegiance.

The Talpurs on this assembled at Odahpúr, and having elected Mir Futteh Allí Khan, son of Mir Sobhdar Khan, and grandson of Mir Biram Khan, to be their leader, repaired in great numbers and force to the attack of Mian Ubdúl Nubi; over whom they at length by bravery and perseverance completely prevailed, and obliged him to fly a second time to the Affghan throne, while Mir Futteh Allí Khan made his triumphal entry into Hyderabad. Upon a survey of his own situation, Mir Futteh

Allí was desirous of removing every object, which might immediately or eventually disturb his peace and permanence, a disposition which was observed with alarm by his nephew Mir Sohrab Khan. The young man, therefore, upon a pretext of proceeding on a hunting expedition, left the fort of Hyderabad, and rode with all speed to Lohry town, where he fixed himself, and collected his adherents. In the same manner Mir Tarrah, the son of Mir Futteh Khan, apprehensive of designs against his person, fled privately by night, and pursuing bye-paths, after two days reached Badbán, and there settled: eventually he removed to Shah Bunder. Both of these princes, having completely possessed themselves of these places and the adjacent country, remitted a part of the revenues to the king, Timúr Shah, by their own agents, and renounced altogether the authority of Mir Futteh Allí Khan. In the meantime Ubdúl Nubi Khan was incessantly pressing his wrongs and distresses on the ear of Majesty, till the royal compassion was again moved, and a body of troops with a detachment of Brahois, the whole under the command of Ahmed Khan, a Patan noble, was ordered to march with Ubdúl Nubi Khan, and restore to him the government of Sindh. The partisans of Ubdúl Nubi Khan joined him with a large force on his entering the country. Mir Futteh Allí Khan, as soon as he heard of their arrival, took the field and procrastinated extremities for four months, till he succeeded in drawing off the Aff-

ghans and Brahois, and then fell upon Ubdul Nubi Khan, and his part of the army, and after great slaughter drove him to take refuge in Sewistan. Ahmed Khan returned to Candahar, and was marked with the greatest opprobrium for the disgrace he had permitted to be attached to the imperial arms. Zeman Shah had by this time ascended the throne of Cabul, and beginning to employ his mind in schemes of enterprise and conquest determined as the tribute of Sindh had been very irregularly rendered by Mir Futteh Allí Khan, Mir Sohrab Khan, and Mir Tarrah Khan Talpúrs, to pay a visit to that country, and advanced on this purpose as far as Múltan. The three above-mentioned chiefs, completely terrified at the king's approach, fled from their capitals towards the desert, and sent the most penitential and submissive excuses and promises, which through the friendly and zealous intercession of Núr Mahomed Khan, the vizier, upon whose protection they had thrown themselves, were received, and the king prevailed upon to forgive the past and pursue them for their offences no further; the vizier himself discharging some arrears, and pledging himself for the punctuality of the tribute in future. Through the same friendly medium, Mir Futteh Allí Khan afterwards got a sunnud, confirming him in his government. When foreign attack no longer threatened, Mir Sohrab Khan, with a majority of the Talpúrs and other chiefs, proposed that the son of Mian Ubdúlla Khan, Mir Ghulam

Hussein Khan, who was now arrived at years of discretion, should assume the government of Sindh, to which, by direct descendancy, he was heir, and in consideration of whose minority only it had, it was urged, been entrusted to Mir Futteh Allí Khan. To this argument Mir Futteh Allí Khan replied by putting the foot in the stirrup. Both parties collected their forces, and three whole days were the ranks drawn out on either side in battle array. In this internal contention of the Talpúr tribe, relations were divided on the different sides. Sons threatened fathers, and brothers forgot their birth: the elders of the tribe wisely held out the mischief of such an unnatural butchery, and the women flung themselves between the swords to prevent it. Both parties were at length persuaded. Mir Ghúlam Hussein Khan acknowledged the sovereignty and accepted the protection under which he afterwards lived, of Mir Futteh Allí Khan, and he acknowledged the independence and perpetuity of the distinct possession of Mir Sohrab Khan, and Mir Tarrah Khan. This accommodation being perfected, Mir Futteh Allí Khan made a handsome provision in jahgirs for his three brothers, Mir Ghúlam Allí Khan, Mir Kurum Allí Khan, and Mir Múrad Allí Khan, according to their seniority; and in order to preserve them in an harmonious support of the general interests of the family, for which they had all laboured in the field (Mir Ghúlam Allí Khan with signal zeal and effect), he

admitted them likewise to a participation in his power, and placed their Musnuds on each side of his own, an order which was always preserved. Mir Futteh Allí Khan instituted an early and vigorous search after the treasures and property of the Kaloras, wherever dispersed or concealed, and a cruel persecution of the old adherents and servants of that tribe ensued. Some of the other tribes of Sindh, who were formidable from their superior numbers or odious for their attachment to the old government, were reduced by every effort of stratagem and intrigue to embroil them with each other, to an insignificance or absolute dependence on the Durbar. The internal peace of the country being provided for, Mir Futteh Allí Khan turned his attention to the recovery of two places, Karrachi and Omarkót, which were originally included in the territory of Sindh, but were alienated by Mir Ubdúl Nubi, the first to Mian Nasir Mahomed, governor of Kilat, and the second to Mahraj Bij Singh, Rajah of Joudpúr, for the assistance they had lent him at different times, as before related. In one attack upon Karrachi, made by Mir Futteh Allí Khan, he was repulsed, but in a succeeding one there was no resistance made, owing to negociations which had been made by Mir Futteh Allí Khan, either at Kilat or at Candahar. He took possession of Karrachi about the year A. D. 1792. His attempts to take Omarkót by surprise had been many

but uniformly unsuccessful, and some of them indeed dangerous to himself personally.

Mir Futteh Allí Khan is at present the ostensible head, but not the absolute guide of the government of Sindh. The participation of rank and power, to which he so generously admitted his brothers, has overthrown the independence of his own authority, distracted his councils, and threatens to divide the unity of the state. By the great conciliation and forbearance of the prince, with the tenderness and good sense of the mother, a character superior in intelligence to her sons, and who, in all difficult and delicate cases, interferes to decide their plans and adjust their differences, serious ruptures have been hitherto obviated. The second brother, Mir Ghúlam Allí Khan, is a man of great energy and ambition, impatience, and determination. Hitherto they have all preserved a real or apparent concord, which has made them formidable to their enemies, and gained them the appellation of the Char Sar, or the "four friends." The subordinate figures in the government are a general and a physician; the first, Mian Fakira, a Sindhian, a great favourite with the prince, and the other, Mir Ibrahim Shah, a Persian Seyud, much respected by him, and both admitted to a large share of his confidence, but regarded with jealousy by the other brothers. The infancy of the four princes was passed in great obscurity, and even poverty, under the latter part of the reign of the Kaloras, who

were not, as may be supposed from the dissensions which have been related, friendly to the Talpúr tribe. The present rulers of Sindh have been seen, it is said, tending cattle in its jungles, and cooking their own meals. Certain it is that their understanding, dispositions, and manners, betray great barbarity of education, and that since their advancement to an affluent sphere, they have derived little cultivation from literature or society. Their ideas extend no further than the mountains and desert which bound their country, and the events at Candahar, and the highest reach of their wisdom and policy is by watching the motions of the Affghan king, and bribing his officers to gain delay or remission in their payment of the tribute. Their solicitude at home is to guard their personal safety and enrich themselves individually, and all the rest of their occupation consists in self-gratification, without a single glance at the condition of the people or real interests of the country. It may easily be supposed that such characters are not very popular, and their tyranny and rapacity make their government daily more and more detested. By vigilance and management, however, they keep the tribes in check and subjection, which prevents the possibility of conspiracy, and are themselves always prepared against insurrection. Every month they move about the country in different directions, which they never regulate by routines or previous announcement, so that the uncertainty

may keep all parts in awe. They are, on hunting excursions, attended by horse and foot, to the number sometimes of ten thousand men: in Durbar the prince and his brothers sit each with his sabre girt and his shield slung, and a relief of ready saddled steeds is always kept up for any emergency. The four brothers in general eat together, and, instead of retiring at night to different apartments, invariably sleep in the same room, with arms by their side, and without any lights but at the doorway. Their precautions are altogether so great as to bid defiance to internal treachery or confederacies; but were Ubdul Nubi Kalora to appear again in the country with a moderate force, it would most probably be soon augmented by the disaffected to the present government to a degree that would overturn it, without scarcely an effort. Ubdul Nubi, the last of the Kalora chiefs, ended his days in obscurity, after ungratefully requiting his old benefactor, Ibrahim Shah, by rebellion. Remnants of this tribe form a portion of the population of Sindh to the present day, and have always been looked upon with suspicion by the Talpúrs.

Such is the history of the rise and fall of the Kaloras in Sindh, with the establishment of power by the late house of Talpúr, to the commencement of the present century. The narrative has now to be carried down to the latter chiefs.

Mir Futteh Allí Talpúr died in 1801, and be-

queathed his treasure and the territory of Sindh, except such portion as belonged to Mirs Sohrab and Tarrah (and which included the Khyrpúr and upper provinces), to his remaining three brothers, Ghúllam Allí, Kurm Allí, and Múrad Allí, in the proportion of two fourths to the elder and one fourth to each of the others, with a corresponding arrangement for defraying expenses of the state and providing the tribute to the Cabul throne: this amounted to thirteen lacs annually (130,000*l.*). From this period a new system was effected in the government of the country; the chiefs ruled conjointly, dividing the revenues and power under the title of the "Amirs (or Lords) of Sindh," and were thus acknowledged by the Governor-General on the part of the British government, and all the powers of India, with such titles as are given to the highest potentates; one *Rais*, or head of the whole, being always invested with additional authority, and allowed to settle family differences, as also to carry on foreign correspondence. This head of the family was the senior Mir, and on his character, of course, much of the prosperity of the country and amicable condition of the whole family depended. This division of power and consequent clashing of interests with chiefs in a state of semi-barbarism, jealous of each other, and keenly alive to individual rights, particularly of property, appeared to be an anomaly in theory, and was long considered as impracticable in effect; but the patriarchal mode of a

common cause and one head, on which it is based, kept the whole together, and amidst trying circumstances, when in the pursuit of vital interests or ambitious projects, individual members of the family have threatened to overturn it. The system, thus guarded, still stood firm, and the government of Sindh under the Talpúrs has undergone little alteration from its foundation to the present period. It is true the title of *Char Yar*, or "four friends," which was first given in consequence of the apparent unanimity of the four founders of the Talpúr government, had in time been somewhat altered, and, perhaps, could no longer be claimed, from the growing family discords and dissensions which arose at court; yet, notwithstanding these, in reality there was always with the majority a strongly-rooted bond of amity, and, indeed, of affection between the Sindhian Amirs, which times of trial and difficulty have fully proved, though, in periods of peace, they were almost childish in their constant disagreements, and professed, long after the period of the firm settlement of the government, to hold each other in the greatest distrust. The Kalora influence gradually diminished, or at least was suppressed, after the fall of that house; and though it is doubtful if the Talpúrs were at first, or have ever after been so popular with the mass of the people, from their extreme short-sighted system of avarice, and old recollections of the Kaloras as a sacred stock, they yet governed the country tran-

quilly, and the general peace and apparent unity of the whole system became the theme of astonishment and panegyric of other states.

Ghúllam Allí, the next brother of Futteh Allí, died in 1811 (from a wound inflicted by a buck when hunting), leaving a son Mir Mahomed. Futteh Allí had also a son named Sobhdar. These princes, though claiming to a participation in power, were for some time excluded, and the two chief Amirs of Sindh were considered to be the two remaining brothers, Múrad Allí and Kurm Allí, who ruled the country and were thus acknowledged. The latter died without issue, but the former left two sons. Núr Mahomed and Nasir Khan; and the government at Hyderabad consisted, up to 1840, of Núr Mahomed, as the head, his brother, Nasir Khan, with the cousins Sobhdar and Mir Mahomed. Núr Mahomed died in 1841, and left two sons, Mirs Shadad and Hussein Allí, who shared their father's possessions under the guardianship of their uncle Nasir, who became the senior Mir nominally, though, in fact, the connection just formed (in 1839) by treaty with the British government aimed a direct blow at the supreme authority of any member of the family, and destroyed it by substituting its own influence instead. This will be more fully explained hereafter; but, as a matter of history, this period of the death of the senior Mir is marked by this particular change in the form of the Talpúr government in Sindh,

that the peculiar system of one distinct head, to whom questions affecting the interests of the whole, individually or collectively, were referred, was destroyed; and the Talpúr house left in the hands of the British authority, who was alone competent to ultimately decide their questions of dispute and disagreement, foreign or social. The participation in power of the late Mir, being divided between his children, in common with his property, the influence of their uncle was diminished and the authority scattered, instead of, as heretofore, concentrated in the fewest possible number. Thus, on the death of Mir Ghúllam Allí, (the senior of the three princes then ruling,) his sons took the lowest grade below their uncles. Núr Mahomed's sons, on the contrary, ranked equally with Nasir Khan; at least he had no power over their affairs against which they might not appeal.

The Khyrpúr branches of the Talpúr family, who ruled in Upper Sindh, consisted of Mirs Rústum and Allí Múrad as principals, the sons of Mir Sohrab: Mir Múbarick, another son, died in 1839, leaving a large family; and Mir Rústum has eight sons. This division of the Talpúr house always looked up to that at Hyderabad as the parent stock, and was guided in its councils by the advice there given. Another member of the family, named Shir Mahomed, possessed Mirpúr (to the eastward of Hyderabad).

From the period of Shah Shújah's accepting a

portion of arrears of tribute due to the Cabul throne in 1805, it was irregularly paid, and this proof of subserviency to that power evaded until 1839, when a large sum on this account was defrayed to the above monarch in the course of his march to Candahar.

The Talpúrs do not appear to have ever been ambitious of foreign conquest, except encroachments on the neighbouring petty state of Cutch, which, on one or two occasions, have given rise to remonstrance and to the collection of forces by the Indian government, as threatening the quiet of our own possessions towards Guzírat. Omarkót, which Futteh Allí so repeatedly but vainly attempted to capture, was taken in 1813; and predatory subjects of the Sindh state, particularly the Khosahs, have much annoyed our Guzírat frontier; but generally the Talpurs have ruled with a peaceable demeanour towards other states, by whom they have also been left unmolested. Shah Shújah, in 1833, punished them for their want of allegiance when he made his last unsuccessful attempt to regain his throne.

Internally, the country of Sindh under the Talpúr rule has been singularly free from those revolutions and intestine tumults to which it was so long a prey, and, if not improved in other points, certainly had this advantage.

There is a character int.oduced in the foregoing account of the Talpúr family, who must not be lost sight of, viz. Ibrahim Shah, the Persian, and

prime minister of the first form of government, and an important instrument in the fortunes of the house. He was succeeded by his son, Ismael Shah, who retained until the period of his death, in 1839, the same high position and great influence in the Hyderabad councils as his father, and who was remarkable for his rooted dislike to British connection, against the formation of which he threw every possible obstacle on its being first proposed, and subsequently never ceased to use every endeavour to break it off or mar its progress. He left at his death five sons, Zein al Abdín, Tukki Shah, Sadik Shah, Ibrahim Shah, and another, all highly capable men, and employed as kardars, or managers of state affairs, and contributing individually and collectively to uphold the interests of their employers. This celebrated Persian family has played a very momentous and conspicuous part in the fortunes of the Talpúr house from its rise to its downfal; and, though their wealth proves that their attachment and services have not been altogether unrequited, there is reason to believe the late Mirs had few more serviceable or capable adherents than these.

This part of the subject may be concluded by a summary of the Sindhian history, as far as it is recorded, and it will stand thus,—

	A. D.
Ruled by Brahmins until conquered by Mahommedans -	711
A possession of the Khalif of the Omiade dynasty -	750
Conquered from them by Mahmúd of Ghuzni - -	1025

	A. D.
Súmrah tribe attain power - - - -	1054
Súmahs overthrow the Súmrahs - - -	1351
Conquered by Shah Beg Urghún - - -	1519
Humayún Padshah places the country under contribution	1540
Tirkhans obtain power - - - - -	1555
Annexed by Akbar to Delhi - - - -	1590
Núr Mahomed Kalora obtains the súbidarship - -	1736
Nadir Shah invades Sindh - - - -	1740
Becomes subject to the Affghan throne - - -	1750
Kaloras overthrown by Talpúrs - - -	1786
Conquered by the English - - - -	1843

Thus presenting eleven changes of dynasties in exactly as many centuries.

CHAP. XII.

Sindh Durbars.—Description of Hyderabad.—Fort and Town.—Visit to Amirs.—Rude Welcome.—Etiquette observed—Hospitality.—General Effect of Sindh Durbar.—Description of Amirs.—Nasir Khan.—Mir Mahomed, or Sobhdar.—Shahdad Khan.—Hussein Allí Khan.—Dissensions and apparent Anomaly of Form of Government.—Real Stability.—Source of family Discords.—Shír Mahomed of Mirpúr.—Khyrpúr Durbar.—Town and Fort.—Mir Rústum—Age and Infirmities of.—Family Discords.—Allí Múrad.—Character of his Court.—Interior Economy of Household of Sindhian Amirs.—Females.—Education of Princes.—Love of Arms.—Horses.—Passion for Sport.—Scenes at Shikargahs.—Costume of Amirs.—Economy of Time.—Religious Observances.—Vanity of Talpúrs.—List of Amirs of Hyderabad and Khyrpúr.—General Review of Characters.—Fair Conclusions to be drawn.—Wealth of Chiefs.

In order to introduce the late Talpúr chiefs or Amirs of Sindh more intimately than in the preceding chapter, it will be better to describe their durbars or courts in both portions of the country, commencing with that of Hyderabad in Lower Sindh; which, as before observed, was considered the capital of the whole province, and was founded by Ghúllam Shah Kalora. The Talpúrs, particularly Futteh Allí and his brother Ghúllam Allí, patronised Khúdabád a short distance further north, as a royal residence, and here their tombs may be

seen, occupying the same relative position as did the brothers during life. After their time, however, Hyderabad became the favourite position of the princes, from having the advantages of a large fort and citadel (adjoining the town), which was solely occupied by the Amirs, their families, and personal guards or servants: an approach to this stronghold of the feudal chiefs of Sindh was strikingly illustrative of the rude and semi-barbarous state which they entertained. The fort itself crowns the summit of a scarped termination to a range of hills; and though on a near approach its defences are seen to be in a dilapidated state, has from its great elevation and a large and lofty interior citadel a very picturesque appearance: gardens with thick clusters of trees, and the branch of the river flowing near the walls diversify the scene. Hyderabad had also the additional recommendation to the Amirs of being centrally situated, and from it their hunting preserves by means of the river were very accessible: they spoke in raptures of its climate; for though very sultry during certain seasons of the year, it is a drier atmosphere than the Delta and less exposed in its neighbouring country to inundation than most portions lower down, whilst it enjoyed in common with all Lower Sindh the monsoon winds and a shorter duration of excessive heat than beyond Sehwun. The town is a poor place for the capital of a country, carrying on but little trade, and that only for its

own consumption. The presence of the chiefs always induced an air of bustle and importance from the great throng of retainers who frequented its bazaar: some fine tombs erected over the Kalora and Talpúr chiefs, Ghúllam Shah and Kurm Allí, occupy the opposite extremity of the hill to that of the fort; the reigning family kept this latter in repair, but the former were much neglected, though the most gorgeous of the whole.

On the arrival of a visitor he was met at some distance from the fort by a *Pesh Khidmut* or advanced guard of forty or fifty horse and footmen fully armed and accoutred, the leading individuals of whom were personal friends or servants of the various Amirs, deputed to give the welcome in their masters' name and for him, etiquette precluding the Amirs themselves coming out unless to meet an equal. The rank of the person deputed depended on that of the visitor, and was regulated accordingly. On first descrying the stranger in his escort, a tumultuous rush as if for some violent purpose was made by the Sindhians towards him: horses were put to the spur, and footmen ran to keep pace; the senior representative followed by those of the other Mirs crowding round the visitor, and seizing his hand, nearly tore him from his saddle, with rude but hearty inquiries for his health, after the usual circuitous method of Sindhian salutation, following it up with an express message of inquiry and salutation from their Highnesses individually. This

preliminary ceremony being completed (and it occupied some considerable time, for a single interchange of salutation is not speedily completed in Sindh, and on these occasions there were half a dozen to receive and answer), the escort was formed to return, and the visitor placed in the middle, his steed being nearly borne down by the press around him, and woe betide him if he were not mounted on a quiet beast, for kicks would then shower round his legs thick as hail: no remonstrance or request "to be allowed a little more room," "to take care of his horse, &c.," were for a moment heeded, but would only have induced additional *persecution* in the shape of additional pressure, and more inquiries after health and comfort! thus jostling, shouting, and holloing, the fort and narrow entrance over the drawbridge was gained, where the escort was again swelled by additional followers. The senior Amir demanded the first interview, and opposite his diwan or hall of audience the visitor was stopped: fifty obsequious retainers held the stirrup and assisted to alight, whilst as many "Bismillahs" were breathed out on the foot touching the ground; here it was necessary to pause for a moment, to arrange the order of entrance to the royal presence. A certain number of men of rank being at the door, one took hold of the stranger's hand, who, divesting his feet of shoes or boots (the feet cannot be covered beyond the threshold of any dwelling in the East), was ushered into a large square room totally bare

of furniture, except a large *charpai* or Ottoman covered with rich velvet or brocade cushions, Persian carpets being spread around it: on the former reclined the Amir in full dress or otherwise, as the case might be, whilst the whole room was crowded with chiefs, ministers, servants, and armed retainers of every degree; those of higher rank being nearest the Amir, and enjoying the exclusive privilege of occupying the carpet. On the entrance of the guest all rose, and the usual form of inquiry and salutation, coupled with an embrace, being interchanged with the Amir, was repeated by all in his vicinity; and as their Highnesses and the Bilúchis generally are very corpulent, the hugging was not always of the most pleasant kind! Conversation then commenced, the guest being accommodated with a chair as a post of honour. The studied attention to the slightest word or gesture of the Amir was on these occasions strikingly evinced by his rude followers: if a fold of his garment were displaced, a dozen hands adjusted it; if in want of a word to render the conversation glib, it was abundantly supplied; every movement was accompanied by a "Bismillah," and every eye directed to the chief, whose slightest gesture was instantly obeyed; and although the Amir might be in undress himself, no one of those about him was in other than in the full costume of the country. On state occasions or visits of ceremony, the sword, shield, and full panoply was adopted by the Amirs, and the British au-

thorities always observed the same etiquette. The murder of Bijar Khan before described was made a pretext for requiring the gentlemen who formed the first mission to the Talpúr chiefs to appear in durbar unarmed, a request which of course could not be complied with. Politeness peculiar to the East was carried in the Sindh durbar to a ridiculous extent, during any pause in the conversation: the chief invariably supplied the hiatus by an inquiry after the health of his guest, putting his hands together and ejaculating "*Khoosh!*" and if the stranger's eye wandering over the assembled retainers caught that of any of the men of rank, he felt himself bound to perform the same ceremony immediately: these constant questions on the same topic became at last almost ridiculous, but were made with so much of at least apparent sincerity of manner, that they became pleasing. However important the subject first discussed with an Amir, though generally the topics were common-place, it ordinarily terminated in the all-engrossing subject of sport, and the latest or next intended visit to the Shikargah; the greatest proof of the high estimation in which a guest was held, being an invitation to partake in this royal pastime. The Amir himself gave the signal for breaking up the conference, as is usual in the East for a superior; and honour was shown to the visitor by his Highness accompanying him to the border of the carpet,

where the "Khuda hafiz," or "God protect you," was interchanged.

Each Amir had his own diwan and establishment, and observing only the strictest etiquette of visiting each according to seniority (for any departure from this would have been deemed a slight), the same ceremony obtained with each. On occasions only of discussing matters of state importance affecting the national weal, did the Amirs meet together in durbar, and they then collectively represented the country over which they ruled. On quitting the fort the same escort as formerly was provided, and a portion even accompanied the visitor to his own home, the rest only returning when expressly directed to do so. On visits of ceremony presents were always interchanged, but on ordinary occasions the guest was supplied with edibles, generally in the shape of large trays of sweetmeats for himself and attendants. Envoys to the court were fed, with all their retainers, for the whole time of their sojourn.

The rude hospitality and kind welcome shown on these occasions of an ordinary visit were very characteristic of Sindhian manners; the court showed nothing of the refinement of the East elsewhere observed, and the groups of wild Bilúchis and military mercenaries from every quarter which made up the scene, reminded the stranger that he was amongst a people of primitive manners, and chiefs who ruled as a military feudalism. The

untractable demeanour and uncouth bearing of the Bilúchis occasionally burst out even in the royal presence; for though devoted to their leaders, these barbarous tribes did not always show their respect outwardly; and the Hyderabad durbar often presented a strange scene of disorder and tumultuous uproar incidental to its wild attendants, aided not a little by the discordant screaming of Nautch women, with their accompanying din of drum and cymbal marshalled in a corner of the hall by fat Abyssinian eunuchs.

The chiefs who resided at Hyderabad were Nasir Khan (the last surviving son of Múrad Allí), the chief Amir, a prince of exceedingly prepossessing manners and handsome exterior, though latterly he became so grossly corpulent as to be able to walk with extreme difficulty; his age is about forty-five. The principal failing of this prince's character was exceeding avarice and a consequently short-sighted policy, which injured his possessions and decreased his own resources in proportion, at the same time that it created family discords; he was otherwise free from most of the vices common to his limited education and semi-barbarous origin; popular with his people, and always much liked by the officers of our government who were brought in contact with him, from his comparative urbanity and polish. Nasir Khan, deficient in strength of mind, was at all times in the hands of intriguing parties who raised cabals and petty feuds in the

family. He had one son; and when the author last visited him was teaching the youth English with a view, his father said, "of transacting business direct, and not through the organs of munshís and interpreters." Nasir Khan, on the death of his elder brother, Núr Mahomed, became the ostensible head of the Talpúr family, but his two nephews being admitted to occupy the same position in durbar as their father (sharing his property and possessions) instead of as formerly being placed at the foot of the list, much of the senior Mir's influence was weakened, the more so that the youths had a direct appeal in their affairs to the representative of the British government; and the younger, who found his uncle's avaricious views likely to thwart his interest, formed a strong party against him. Nasir Khan was not, however, adapted, like his late brother, to rule his house, self-interest preventing his upholding its dignity, by avoiding party-feeling.

Mir Mahomed, the son of Ghúllam Allí Talpúr, and therefore cousin of Nasir Khan, ranked equally with Sobhdar, the son of Futteh Allí, the founder of the Talpúr house. Mir Mahomed was an old man and childless, amiable, but of weak intellect, and completely in the hands of his cousin Nasir, who anticipated becoming the inheritor of his wealth at the prince's death. Sobhdar was a man of quiet, inoffensive character; and on the general opposition to the views of the British government in the advance of its armies on Cabul in 1839 by

the other Hyderabad Amirs, had so far dissented from them that he obtained a remission from a share in the amount of tribute then levied on the other three: he ever after strenuously avoided any acts which should look like a participation in intrigue, and studiously courted the good-will of the British authorities; his exemption from tribute procured him to be looked upon with jealousy by the other members of his family, and he was generally unpopular in consequence. He had two sons.

The princes, sons of the later Núr Mahomed, Shahdad Khan, about twenty-nine, Hussein Allí Khan, twenty years of age, were much estranged in consequence of the elder being subservient to the views of his uncle, and acknowledging his guardianship; whilst the younger rebelled against such authority. Shahdad possessed much of his father's character (which was a mixture of great talent, vice, and duplicity), though engaging in his manners, and rather accomplished for his country. Hussein Allí being younger was guided entirely by those about him, neglecting, however, the valuable assistance of his guardian, Ahmed Khan, chief of the Lagharis (a Jutt tribe), prime minister to Mir Mahomed at the period of his death, and a nobleman whose many fine qualities would have made him the ornament of the most polished court in India. The great influence possessed by this chief in the Talpúr counsels, and by his late father Walli Mahomed, decreased latterly, and he retired from

the court somewhat disgusted at its intrigues, into comparative seclusion, living principally on his estates, which were very large, in the rich district of Larkhana; yet he was not wanting when the fortunes of the Talpúrs were tottering, and sealed his devotion on a late occasion by taking arms in their defence, and sharing the fate of their house. The Prince Hussein Allí was said to have much offended Ahmed Khan, the youth forgetting the respect due to the age and dignity of his late father's friend. Walli Mahomed's (his father's) popularity in Sindh was so great, that his memory is more highly cherished by all classes than that of any of the numerous chieftains who in the rapid rise and fall of dynasties have attained eminence in Sindh, a tribute to virtue which it is refreshing to contemplate, where civilisation has not yet planted her ameliorating standard. As a personal friend of Ahmed Khan Laghari, the author looks back with pleasure (tinged with deep regret at that chief's altered fortunes) to the delightful hours he spent in that old noble's society during his last visit to Hyderabad, and pays this feeble mark of gratitude to his kindness and hospitality; his public merits were so generally known as to have procured him the highest opinion of all who were acquainted with the leading characters in the Sindhian government.

Such were the leading personages that composed the Hyderabad durbar; a host of functionaries

filled up the scene; each chief, independent of his necessary quota of kardars, múnshís, and other officers of state, being amply supplied with holy teachers and peculiar favourites from all parts of India, Persia, &c.; some, as usual in Eastern courts, being raised from the dregs of society to the very highest offices; the weakness and worldly inexperience of the Sindhian princes being prominently shown in the ready credence which designing and plausible adventurers obtained at the Hyderabad court, as elsewhere alluded to.

As a whole, this court presented a curious anomaly; for each individual composing this strange form of government lived as if deeply jealous or suspicious of the other, and each appeared to be only meditating how he might readily compass the downfal or engross the possessions of his fellow-chieftain: caution against mutual treachery, indeed, went so far as to show alarm even for personal safety. Large bodies of the armed retainers of each prince were always in attendance; and when the Amirs quitted their capital to partake of the sports of the field, each was accompanied by an enormous force, with the view of guarding against surprise. Yet, notwithstanding all this appearance of enmity and actual distrust, internally a common bond of union kept the Sindhian chiefs together; and when the safety or honour, even of individuals, was assailed from without, it became a common cause, and they stood forward as one man to defend it. How much

longer such an extraordinary compact would have lasted, is a question which may be asked; and the probability appears to be, notwithstanding its apparent inconsistency, that, if left to itself, it had still the seeds of stability, and that on the surface only did it appear tottering. The truth is, in a few words, that the whole rested on a constant balance of power, and in this lay the secret of its preservation. No one Amir in an essentially feudal form of government, like that of Sindh, could advance his pretensions to his brother chieftain's rights, without interfering directly with those of a large body of feudatories, and he was at once either checked in that quarter, or obliged to have recourse to arms, — an alternative which could never have been resorted to by the Talpúrs, though much vaunted. Again, what formed the interest of one Amir was the interest of the whole; and did ambitious views prompt a chief to acts of injustice, there was an overwhelming majority against him, for they knew, individually and collectively, full well, that if they suffered one member of the family to get beyond his limit of power, or to engross the possessions of another, the fates of all were inevitably sealed; and thus there was a constant counteraction to aggrandisement, coupled, at the same time, with a patriarchal system of placing their disputes for adjustment in the hands of one senior member of the family, thus flattering his dignity, whilst it gave him no additional power.

The whole was kept together as one family, and, if not interfered with, would, there is every reason to believe, have lasted for ages. This part of the subject, however, will find a greater space elsewhere.

Much of the petty family discords which, during the last few years, were observable at Hyderabad, arose from the loss of the able head of the house, Núr Mahomed. This prince's talent and influence were universally acknowledged by all, and in him the keystone of the whole fabric was kept in its place, and the old system on which it was founded fully preserved. He left no successor capable of supplying his position, and his brother, Nasir Khan's, avaricious and weak disposition proved the cause of constant feuds, and kept up a constant irritation in the family.

The above description of the characters of the Hyderabad Amirs has occupied a greater space than was contemplated; but the author considers that interest must attach to all concerning these princes, whose fortunes are now likely to occupy so prominent a place in Indian history.

Shir Mahomed Talpúr, another member of the family, held the fort of Mirpúr, eastward of Hyderabad. His character has not been favourably spoken of by parties who were brought into contact with him: he was but little known, having for a long period refused our connection.

The Khyrpúr branch of the family occupied the

town of that name in Upper Sindh, wherein resided the Amirs in somewhat the same state, although on a much smaller scale, and, if possible, ruder than that of Hyderabad. The etiquette observed at one durbar was precisely the same as that of the other. Mir Rústum, the head at Khyrpúr, always presided, and one hall of audience sufficed for all the princes, being generally filled with the numerous members of his own and brother's family; his chief minister and his numerous sons helping to swell the train. This court was more essentially Bilúchi, and therefore more national in manners, in costume, and character than that of the capital. A degree of poverty and meanness pervaded the whole, which forcibly proved the unsatisfactory state of Khyrpúr finances; indeed, this division of the government and country was so essentially feudatory, and had consequently been so much frittered away in jahgirs and other grants to chiefs and hangers on, that the prince was barely left a sufficient income for the personal comforts of himself and family, and often put to the most humiliating shifts to obtain sufficient for current expenses. In this way, also, the Khyrpúr durbar was guilty of acts of most unwarrantable oppression towards its subjects, particularly the Hindús of Upper Sindh.

Khyrpúr is situated in the middle of a well fertilised plain, and the approach to it from the river at Rorí is through a beautiful succession of

gardens, affording a deep shade and delightful relief from the trying sun of Sindh. Khyrpúr is too insignificant to be considered as a capital, except of a division of the country; and, but that the Amirs of Upper Sindh had taken up their abode here, would be hardly worthy of notice. Their residence was a small mud fort in the centre of the town, of very confined limits, and having no pretensions in size or convenience for the large number of chiefs (seventeen) who resided here; but Bilúchis are not very particular in this respect, and this part of the Talpúr family had preserved so much of the primitive manners of their ancestors as to adopt in their court and domestic arrangements as unostentatious a style as was consistent with the slightest pretension to dignity, at the same time that their impoverished treasury did not permit of much display had they been inclined to have made it.

The head of the Khyrpúr Talpúrs was Mir Rústum, son of Mir Sohrab (before mentioned, to whom this upper part of the province was originally granted by Futteh Allí), an old man of easy temper and dignified manners, too far advanced in life to attend to state affairs himself, the whole of which were left to others, but particularly in the hands of an acute and clever, though it is to be feared unprincipled minister, Futteh Mahomed Ghori. Mír Rústum having a large family, including no less than eight sons, intrigues at his

court embittered his latter days by sowing the seeds of dissension between him and his children. It would have been difficult to have found in the whole territory of Sindh a man of a more amiable or inoffensive private character, apart from the weaknesses peculiar to age, than this venerable prince, whose grey hairs, fine countenance, and kind manners, always induced a strong predilection in his favour from all who were brought into communication with him: he had, moreover, the additional merit of having on every prior occasion met the propositions of the various British authorities for increased communication with and through his country without a moment's hesitation; but years and infirmities induced a carelessness as to the vital interest of his government, and he was latterly beset by designing counsellors whose short-sighted policy and ambitious views of self-aggrandizement plunged this prince into constant difficulties and family broils. In mutual distrusts, intrigues, dissensions, and family quarrels, the Khyrpúr family assimilated completely to their brethren in Lower Sindh, and latterly became even worse; Mir Rústum was, it is true, respected and even beloved by his court and all classes of his subjects, but it required here, as at Hyderabad, an active head to unravel the petty though tangled web of a Sindhian durbar and keep it in anything like order. An old man in his dotage and addicted to opiates and intoxicating stimulants, was little

able to play so important a part, and at his court were some of the most restless and intriguing characters in Sindh. The consequence was a general dismemberment of the family; and at the old chief's death, which in the course of nature might be soon expected, it is highly probable the Hyderabad authority in the olden state of affairs, but according to late arrangements the British government would have had to settle the question of succession to his possessions; his younger brother about to be introduced, was looking with anxious eye to seize the lion's share. His next brother, Mir Múbarick died in 1839, leaving a large family of five sons, the eldest of whom, Nasir Khan, inherited the greater portion of his father's property, sufficient provision being made for his brothers. Ghúllam Hyder, the son of Mir Tarah, was another member of this branch, but his younger brother, Mir Allí Múrad, is the most distinguished character of the Khyrpúr family, possessing unbounded ambition and great tact combined with considerable talent: this prince has always proved consistent and unswerving in his purpose of independence and aggrandizement. In person Mir Allí Múrad is remarkably handsome, dark-complexioned, and about forty years of age; his mother is said to have been of the Bilúchi tribe of Muris, which may account for his possessing unusual swarthiness. The general bearing of this chief is singularly dignified, courteous, and prepossessing; but while distinguished

for the accomplishments usual in the East, he is unfortunately addicted to the wine-cup, and indulges somewhat too freely in the enticing liquors forbidden by the Koran. At present, however, these habits, although existing, do not appear to affect either the health or the character of the Mir, who is in the pride of manhood, with a clear intelligent mind, which up to the present period has been quite capable of coping with the difficulties of his position. And his countenance does not yet betray any of those distressing appearances of undue indulgence in the common stimulants of the East, which never fail to set their stamp upon the features of those who indulge in such means of self-abasement. Mir Allí Múrad has always evinced the greatest jealousy at any interference in his affairs, and has stood aloof from the Bilúchi clanship, which prevails in both the Hyderabad and Khryrpúr families. His retainers, Kardars, men of business, &c., are foreigners, and his troops, of whom he keeps a considerable standing force, are composed entirely of mercenaries from Hindostan, Cabúl, the Punjaub, and Bhawulpúr. Bilúchi feudalism formed a secondary part of his system, and thus was completely at variance with the usage of his country, and he has thus stood in an isolated position, as it were, from his brother chiefs. It is easy to perceive that ambition must, in the first instance, have induced Allí Múrad to pursue a policy so diametrically opposed to the form of government and practices of his forefathers,

and he probably anticipated some rupture at the Hyderabad or Khyrpúr courts, when he would have made a dash aided by foreign troops at the power of the whole; such plans, if devised, would have hardly succeeded, but latterly he became closely connected with the British government, and his views, if they were so directed, were unexpectedly matured and produced a premature result he could formerly have little anticipated, as will be understood hereafter. The retreat of Mir Allí Múrad, which he held in sullen and true baronial style, was the stronghold of Diji, a cluster of forts, all approach to which was strictly guarded. For a long period after our entrance into Sindh, the Mir refused to admit any British officer into his forts; and although at a marriage of his highness with a princess of Khyrpúr, a visit of ceremony was made to Diji, and salutes fired from every bastion round in honour of the political agent and his party, the Mir even then evaded any remark upon his strength, receiving his guests with every distinction near the hamlet in which he himself resides, but declining to lay open the stronghold containing his troops and treasure to the stranger's inquiry or remark. Mir Allí Múrad's system, as affected the British, was neither to court favour, nor proffer offence, but to pursue a perfectly negative course, calmly supporting his own independence, while he paid all courtesy and consideration to those strangers whom chance placed in communication with him.

The style of living and economy of the household of the Sindhian chiefs was strictly in keeping with their general habits and character, exceedingly primitive and attended with but trifling outlay. The interior of a Mahommedan prince's domestic establishment is so impenetrably veiled to all scrutiny, that it can only be guessed at, and sometimes appears by the influence it exercises, of which there is an instance in the early history of the Tulpúrs, but never by any direct means: of the wives and female portions, therefore, of the families of the Amirs of Sindh, though not more guarded on this point than others, nothing whatever was known. The Zenanas, independent of the lawful number of wives (four each), were said to be supplied as usual with a goodly proportion of women; but children begotten of such were, it is said, destroyed to prevent the ignominy of a degraded condition to which their illegitimacy would have reduced them. The princes took wives from, and married their daughters into, Bilúchi families of rank, such as the Muris and others, who were considered to hold a high place amongst the tribes: the sons were educated in the harem, which they only quitted at a certain age for manly exercises and mixture in the court, such education consisting in reading the Koran, a limited knowledge of the adulterated Persian spoken at the court, a high degree of accomplishment consisting in being able to read or quote a few of the ordinary poems in

that language, such as the diwans of Hafiz or Saadi. It may readily be imagined therefore, that the Sindhian chiefs were very illiterate, and indeed barbarously ignorant of all beyond their own country; in this respect the late Talpúrs were in no way changed from the original condition of their fathers, nor did they at any period, though every effort was made, particularly at Hyderabad, to rouse them to a sense of the advantages of a degree of refinement, display the slightest inclination to depart from the rude style handed down to them by their ancestors: various attempts to improve their taste by indûcing an admiration for European articles of comfort or ornament in the furniture of their dwellings, &c., completely failed; beautiful specimens of our manufactures, presented at various times, were either mutilated or allowed to lie as mere lumber. For arms and horses alone did they show any extravagant propensities, for the former to an extent which was quite childish, even to that of sending emissaries to Persia, Turkey, and other countries, to purchase sword-blades and gun barrels: of these they had an immens store; yet no individual in their country possessing a sword or matchlock of any value, but was certain to be solicited with tempting offers to sell it to the chiefs. Khorassan and Kilat supplied the best horses, and for large-sized mares of these breeds they were always prepared to give high

prices. Mikran riding camels, or those from Marwar, were also objects of great request.

The leading feature in the character of the Talpúr Amirs, however, was their absorbing passion for sport, to the gratification of which they literally sacrificed a fine country, and to which every other consideration of any kind was completely subservient: even their ruling vice of avarice found no place where the chase was brought in question, and repeated instances are recorded where the Amirs have even razed villages and depopulated districts in the vicinity of their preserves to prevent any disturbance to the game. The stringency of forest laws in Sindh can only be understood by a comparison to those of countries in the same stage of civilisation, such as "merrie England in the olden time;" but woe betide a Robin Hood or Little John, who should have attempted to play their pranks in the Amirs' Shikargahs! They were so strictly guarded, that it would have been easier to have gained access to their harems! Where all else was mean and penurious, here all was lavish: indefinite expence was incurred in maintenance of keepers and establishments; the enclosures so often destroyed by the river, and of immense extent, were as constantly kept in perfect order. The whole of the country on both banks of the river, from Sehwun to below Tattah, a space of nearly two hundred miles, presented little beyond a succession of dense forests of these preserves; and the value

in money set by the Amirs upon each head of deer killed therein previously given, was corroborated by the express conditions which the chiefs stipulated in 1839 should be introduced as a clause in the treaties with the British government providing for the inviolability of their Shikargahs, and which was secured by a promise on honour that such should be the case. " We value them," said the chief in addressing Colonel Pottinger, the able British representative then at their court, " as much as our wives and children!" Under that gentleman's generous administration, and subsequently to this, the chiefs' inalienable right, as a question of power over their own property, to appropriate their country as they pleased, however much we may condemn the barbarous policy which prompted it, was strictly acknowledged. A minute description of the Sindhian Shikargahs with the method of destroying the game, has been so often given by recent travellers through the country, that it would be mere repetition to allude to them here. The hunting season is in Lower Sindh during the hot weather, and in Upper Sindh at its termination and the cold months. On these occasions, and in these scenes, the natural semi-barbarous state of the princes and their retainers was shown to great advantage: all respect of persons was lost in the tumult and wild excitement of the moment: rugged Bilúchi huntsmen and retainers jostled princes and prime ministers,

each exciting the other, and clamorously vaunting his deeds, particularly if the more glorious game of a tiger had been numbered with the slain. The object was still, however, to gain royal approbation, and bleeding and lacerated, the unfortunate servant threw himself at his master's feet, gasping out his congratulations to the chief for deeds as his own which the bravery of the huntsman has alone accomplished: a waist-band of silk, or a Lúnghí snatched from the nearest retainer, and thrown by the chief, amply rewarded the wounded man, who in repeated instances lost his life without any other token of gratitude than this paltry acknowledgment. Stimulated by this ambition, the Sindhian huntsmen performed deeds of extraordinary gallantry, assisted by the large dogs peculiar to Sindh, who worried and distracted the animal: they attacked the largest tiger armed only with swords and spears, though of course some lives were sure to be lost in these encounters. The altered demeanour of the princes themselves on these occasions was very marked: the apathetic and listless manner, so habitual to them, was suddenly changed to one of the greatest pleasurable anxiety and excitement; they at once became as wild as those about them, and all restraint and etiquette were for the time completely banished. The Amirs were excellent shots, though the awkward matchlock of the country is but ill adapted to sharp or correct firing. Allí Múrad latterly used English rifles, but

he was in this respect a solitary exception to the rest. Visits to the preserves or hunting excursions sometimes lasted for many weeks, and were complete visitations on the unfortunate inhabitants, far unlike Noshirwan the Just, who is described by the Persian moralist Saadi as reproving a courtier for taking a partridge from a peasant without paying for it, though to satisfy the king's hunger, seeing that if the king were to set the example, the soldiers would follow it and rob the country. The Sindhian rulers too often permitted their enormous retinue to be quartered on the neighbouring villages with but inadequate, if any, restitution for the supplies afforded. The beaters up of the game were collected from every district, without reference to their vocations, and without remuneration, to the amount of some hundreds of the working classes. Thus was this ruinous passion doubly injurious to the country, and its selfish gratification the greatest blot on the character of the rulers of Sindh; for though their right has been acknowledged as undisputed, it is impossible to defend such policy on any other principle.

The costume of the Sindhian Amirs differed only from that of the Bilúchis, and others of their subjects, in the costliness of its materials; and on ordinary occasions it was as plain as that of their retainers: its description is well given by an old writer, "a compound, like their character, of foreign habits, jackets and caps, unseemly imita-

tions of India and Persia, drawers shaped like those of the Turks, and of monstrous magnitude." The whole value and most distinguishing feature in a Sindhian chief's dress consists, first, in the richness of the Lúnghí, Cashmere shawl, or other stuff, bound round the waist; and, secondly, in the materials composing the cap, which, with the Amirs, was usually of Guzírat Kenkaub, deeply brocaded with gold or silver tissue; and thirdly, in the sword and sword-belt: these were invariably highly mounted in gold, and of immense value, the shields being also richly bossed of the same precious metal. The Amirs did not use any other ornaments, and, except the large signet rings commonly worn by Mahommedans, were not adorned by any jewellery. As affecting to be a military people, the arms were the principal objects of personal ornament. The cold season induced an addition to the costume in the shape of thickly-wadded silk surcoats, always of very gaudy colours, or broad cloth jackets richly embroidered. During the pursuit of game the white flowing robes and startling coloured caps were exchanged for dark green dresses, the more effectually to assimilate with the jungle. In travelling, the high Tartan boots of kotah-pacha skin were always adopted after the Persian fashion.

The economy of time with the Sindhian princes was not a very important affair: from the early dawn (at which time, in the East, the world is

more alive than at any other during the day), until "chasht," or what would correspond with our breakfast, was devoted to such business of the state as was transacted privately, receiving and dictating answers to petitions, reports of finance, and correspondence. The sultry portion of the day was passed in the inner apartments, at least three or four hours being consumed in sleep: at sunset, after the evening prayer, each Amir held a public durbar, which, as a matter of ceremony, was attended by all the officers of state, chiefs, and retainers, present at the court; this being also the opportunity for publicly paying respect to the Amirs, preferring requests, and making verbal reports on any matters, public or personal. The durbar generally broke up about seven or eight o'clock, when the princes again retired, or on some occasions passed the evening in listening to story-tellers, poets, or Nautch women. Exercise was never taken as a matter of healthful enjoyment, and except for the Shikargah, or to pay a ziarut to the tombs of sainted worthies, or their own ancestors, the Amirs never left their fort: they were at all times very accessible; and complaints were readily inquired into, and redressed, though they neglected the essential part of a ruler's duty, in inquiring personally into grievances, and visiting their territories, with a view to encourage their prosperity.

Though particularly strict in their religious ob-

servt es, following the Shiah heresy, they were very ignorant of the faith they professed, and their knowledge of the Prophet's recorded precepts only extended to the repetition of a few well-known sentences, or *aits*, as they are called: all beyond the mere forms of religion, which were most scrupulously attended to, was left to the care of their Múríds or pastors, the principal of whom at Hyderabad was Fida Mahaydín, from Cabul, whose landed possessions and wealth in the country were equal to a Bilúchi chieftain's, with 5000 followers at his command. Each Amir had his confessor of this sort, whose duties were very light, though his remuneration was commensurate with the great influence obtained: though bigoted and intolerant, the persecutions which distinguished the early Talpúrs, and which drove large bodies of Hindús to quit the country, were latterly very uncommon in Sindh, though ignorance led to the belief that a conversion, whether forced and of mere form, or otherwise, was acceptable; and thus if an unfortunate Soucar should have incurred the displeasure of the chiefs, and be induced to appear at court to answer his delinquencies, the chances were greatly in favour of his having to pay largely for exemptions from violence dictated by intolerance.

The late Talpúr Amirs were not without a fair share of vanity; and the founders of their house employed a poet to record their praises in "undying verse," in imitation of the great Persian work, the

"Shah Nameh," or "History of Kings," by Ferdousi. This in Sindh, however, was styled the "Futteh Nameh," or account of victories; and in it the most fulsome panegyrics were lavished on the first Talpúr leaders, with a proportionate amount of abuse and depreciation of those of the Kaloras. Latterly this weakness became much less prominent, though no one might hope to rise at the Sindhian court, or at any other, without employing a large share of flattery. The titles granted the Amirs of Sindh as independent princes, in official correspondence and state documents, were the same as those employed to the highest rank in India, but the ordinary mode of salutation in common intercourse was the plain Sindhian term "*Sahin;*" which stands for the "Sahib," or "gentleman" of India, and which is employed by all classes of the country as a term of common courtesy.

The individual members composing the late "Amirs of Sindh," and ruling at the Hyderabad Court, were thus, in the order of their seniority:—Nasir Khan (two sons); his nephews, Shahdád Khan and Hussein Allí Khan; his cousins, Mir Mahomed Khan and Mir Sobhdar (two sons): at Khyrpúr, Mir Rustúm Khan (eight sons and eight grandsons); his nephew, Nasir Khan (and his four brothers sons of Mir Múbarick); Allí Múrad Khan and Chakur Khan: at Mirpúr, Shír Mahomed Khan—all of the Talpúr tribe of Bilúchis.

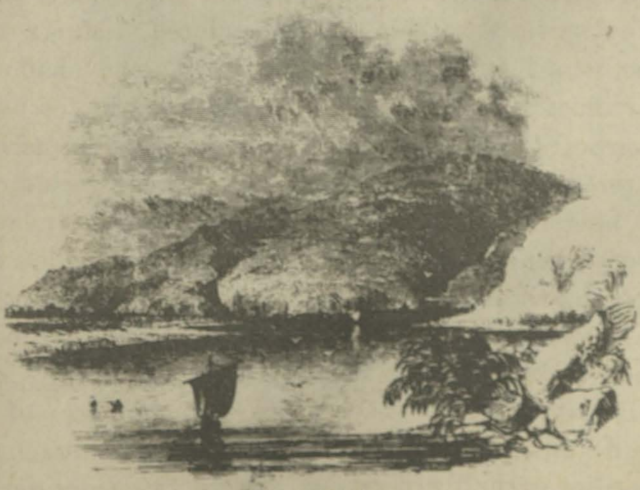
A general review of the characters of those chiefs

collectively leads to the conclusion, that to semi-barbarism and its attendant evils of ignorance and arrogance may be attributed the mainspring of most of those errors of which they have been accused, but which have always existed in the same stage and state of society. Thus the possession of a fine and wonderfully capable country, whose capacities would have been developed by more civilised rulers, was looked upon by these only as a selfish means of personal gratification, and its advantages sacrificed accordingly. Mean and avaricious, the accumulation of wealth at the expense of their possessions by excessive taxation on skill and industry, were the vital faults of misgovernment, proving at the same time how grossly ignorant and short-sighted a system they pursued. As feudatory chiefs of a conquered country, they were bound to acknowledge the extensive claims of their ignorant and wild feudatories, and these knew no form of government, and cared for none other than that which provided for their own immediate rights and interests. The sole end and aim therefore of the Sindhian Amirs was to horde up riches, conciliate their retainers, and enjoy themselves after their own fashion, looking upon all ameliorating and improving systems as interferences against which they were bound to place the most decided barriers. Though by no means cruel — for they were singularly free from this common vice of absolute rulers — they were necessarily arbitrary and

despotic to the mass of their subjects, as evinced in the condition of the latter, which was debased and degraded under the system of government pursued. Unambitious of conquest and of foreign alliances, they looked merely to pass as independent princes, uncared for by other states, and as much as possible unknown. The individual merits of these chiefs apart from their faults, which were those of circumstances, consisted in the exercise of the domestic virtues, which are always so conspicuous in the East, and in the ruder though not less pleasing qualities of hospitality, urbanity, and gratitude for favours conferred. Of the few distinguished British officers who have had an opportunity of being closely connected in the course of official and friendly intercourse, a favourable impression was invariably produced; and though our first visits to their courts induced feelings of contempt for their want of candour and shallow artifices to conceal their childish suspicion of our purposes, these feelings were succeeded in after years by more generous sentiments, the result of a liberal view of their position and its attendant consequences. Judging therefore of the Amirs of Sindh, whether as rulers or individuals, let us not, as members of a highly enlightened and civilised nation, be too ready to condemn, but making due allowance for the never-failing consequences of a rude and uncivilised state of society, temper our verdict with liberality, and accord that considera-

tion which, from our many advantages, we are so well able to afford.

The Talpúrs becoming possessed, on their accession to government, of the accumulated wealth of their predecessors (the Kaloras were always esteemed rich, and hoarding large revenues, as they have ever since done, for their disbursements were very inconsiderable), must have acquired an immense treasury, particularly the Hyderabad family. The Khyrpúr branch were evidently far from prosperous. The citadel at Hyderabad was the generally acknowledged depository of the wealth of the Talpúrs, the fort of Omarkót in the desert being employed for the same purpose by the Kaloras.



Sehwan on the Indus

CHAP. XIII.

Sindhian Form of Government. — Feudal System and Jahgirs to Military Tribes. — Payment of Troops in the Field. —Inams and Jahgirs to Pirs, Seyuds, and others. — Land Revenue System of Sindh. — Zamindars. — Jumma or Land Rent. — Value of Means of Irrigation neglected. — Duties on Trade. — Town Duties. — Taxes under various Heads. — Farming Revenue on Contracts. — Kardars and Servants of Districts. — Number and Names of Districts. — Police. — Administration of Justice. — Dislike of Amirs to Capital Punishments. — Mutilation. — Amount of Sindhian Revenue. — Various Estimates. — Hoarded Wealth of Amirs. — General Review of Government of Sindh.

The Sindhian form of government may be described as a purely military despotism to the country at large on feudal principles, the Amirs being the heads of the whole system as lords of the soil; each Bilúchi or military chieftain holding jahgirs or grants of lands, and being bound to render fealty and service for the same, in furnishing his quota of troops to the state on occasions of necessity. In this way a great proportion of the country was parcelled out, and the Jahgirdars had therefore immediate interests in the support of the government, not to be separated from those of the Amirs themselves: under such a form of administration the military feudatories occupied the first place, all

other classes of subjects being held in a secondary and subordinate consideration. The Amirs, though the acknowledged *suzerains*, could exercise little power apart from the sanction and concurrence of their brother chieftains; and the interests of these latter being immediately concerned, they could at any time take the direction of affairs in their own hands, and drive the Sindhian princes to peace or war, as they considered advisable for their own objects. The Talpúrs, moreover, being conquerors of the soil, and as usurpers over a sacred stock whose memory was highly cherished by all classes of Mahommedans, were bound to rigidly protect the rights of those by whose sole aid they had at first attained, and subsequently maintained their position; had they neglected to do so their rule would have been soon at an end: and thus these chiefs were to a degree elective, for it is obvious that apart from their feudatories, they possessed in reality no power whatsoever, and were dependent on their concurrence ere they could undertake any measures which with other governments would be denominated as those affecting the public weal, or as "state affairs."

The chieftains held the immediate control and influence over their retainers, whom they fed and maintained, and who obeyed them alone, respect being constantly shown by the former to the Amirs, as feudal heads, in the appearance of their feudatories at court, as a matter of etiquette or by

immediate attendance when summoned. Contemplating the whole system in Sindh, it was strikingly similar to that of the ancient feudal government of our own early period of history, and not much more barbarous in its plan and effects. Improvement or amelioration can have no place in such a government: the leading policy is to treat all other nations with jealousy and suspicion as likely to interfere with the selfish and exclusive order of things, exorbitant exactions and oppressions on all classes but their own, distinguished the Bilúchi faction: there was no feeling of unanimity between them and the mass of the people, the conquerors and the conquered. Trade and manufacture languished, and the country with its great capabilities was sacrificed to misgovernment. Such must inevitably be the result of the selfish policy pursued, and a further consequence was that apathetic indifference in the people to which we have before alluded.

On occasions of the Amirs calling together their forces, they were bound to support them whilst in the field; each Amir measured his strength according to the extent of his feudatories, and all formed together a common bond to resist a common enemy. The pay of a foot soldier under such circumstances was about equal to three pence English per day, and that of a horseman about double that sum, grain being allowed, though at a very reduced rate to that in the market: the number of the whole military assembly of Sindh was held to be about

fifty thousand fighting men. A body guard, or force of household troops, was always in attendance on the Amirs, of considerable strength, and received food in lieu of regular wages whilst on duty at the capital,—a system adopted in the East generally. Having to maintain their forces whilst in the field offered a salutary check on the Amirs, and constantly prevented their trying internal disputes by appeals to arms; the expense attendant on demonstrations of this sort was, with princes so decidedly averse to part with their treasure, a constant drawback to these demonstrations. The Bilúchis, having to collect at the capital from the most distant parts of the country, were only there maintained at great cost, and it has been seen that on occasions alone of the most imminent danger to the state from a foreign power did the Amirs exercise their right to put forth the military strength of the country; and, even then, it is questionable if their opinions were not secondary, or, at least, were solely consulted in the matter.

The constant petty feuds between the military tribes in Sindh, as between the Amirs themselves, as constantly called for the interposition of the latter; and though no one Amir could interfere in the disputes or affairs of the feudatories or subjects of another, each was bound to restrain his own people, to preserve peace; and was held responsible for all injuries inflicted on his neighbour's possessions by the violence or rapacity of his followers. The

appeal to the Amirs was acknowledged by all feudatories respectively, and their judgment held as final. In so wild and intractable a community, from the rulers downwards, it may readily be imagined that order was with difficulty preserved; yet, notwithstanding the apparent discord and faction of the Sindhian government, a bond of unity, as before observed, did in reality exist, and the feudal system was strong to suppress internal broils, and only weak to resist a foreign enemy, in the rude and inefficient force brought into the field as compared with organised armies. Though a military government and a military country, Sindh is totally deficient in fortified places: strong natural positions for defence have been disregarded, as, in holding such, the fertile plains would be exposed. One of the Sindhian plans has been, in cases of imminent danger, to lay waste the country and abandon it for the desert, leaving it in its ruined state at the mercy of the invader. The subordinate feudatory retainers of each chief were registered by tribes, and could bring grievances to the notice of the durbar for redress.

Beyond the feudatory grants of land to chieftains for military service, there were various others guaranteed to old servants, or those who had rendered themselves valuable to the family in times of difficulty and the revolutions which gave the power to the Talpúrs, and also those to Pírs, Seyuds, and other holy men, which latter, as

inams, or free gifts, occupied a very considerable proportion of these partitions of territory. In return for these and similar peaceable immunities, it was only necessary that the holders should periodically make their appearance at court and acknowledge their sovereign of the soil, by placing the *sunnuds*, or deeds of grant, in the hands of the Amirs, who confirmed them by returning the papers to the possessor, or withholding them, as the case might be: this latter was seldom done, except under strongly justifiable causes, such as misconduct, encroachment, or some such motives. On the death of the original granter, his successor called in the *sunnuds*, and they were not valid unless confirmed by him. Inam and jahgir differ in this;—that one is a free, irreclaimable gift, whilst the other implies a tenure for certain services or acknowledgments to be performed.

All territory beyond the jahgirs and inams yielding land revenues, and all sources of revenue derived from tariffs, tolls, taxes, duties on trade or productions of the soil, river, &c., were the property of the Amirs, apportioned to each according to seniority, and in the shares originally bequeathed to their successors by the founders of the Talpúr dynasty: these were considered to be absolutely necessary to support the royal state and dignity, and the Bilúch chieftains never interfered in their fiscal management or raised any question respecting them; they were, indeed, looked upon as the

private property of the Amirs, and as such their inalienable right.

The land revenue system of Sindh was rather a complicated affair in detail, though simple on the whole. The leading feature was that of the Zamindari, or farming plan, under which an individual wishing to cultivate a certain extent of soil obtained from the Amirs a *puttah*, or agreement, specifying the term for a defined period, on which he undertook to till it. The royal share of produce (for the greater proportion of revenue of this sort was collected in kind) was either one third, two fifths, or one fifth, according to the character of the land cultivated: thus land was distinguished under three heads; the first lying in such situations relatively to the means of irrigation from the river, that it required few artificial means to inundate it; the second being at a distance from the river, requiring canals and the water-wheel to irrigate; and the third waste land, requiring to be cleansed of jungle or other obstructions to fertility, the lowest possible share of produce being assigned to such, with the view of bringing it under the plough. Independent of the share of grain produce, there were additional taxes on the water-wheel, regulated by its being used with one or two bullocks, or by hand, as also a capitation tax on individual cultivators, with other minor and intricate items not necessary to be specified. Having obtained a *puttah*, or agreement of terms, which

only lasted for the year, or two harvests (spring and autumnal), the Zamindar was at liberty to let any portion of the land he proposed to cultivate to other parties under him; but he was always held individually responsible for the revenue of the whole. On the crops being gathered in, a government officer attended to estimate their amount, and to take the government share from the khirman, or general heap, previous to which it was not to be touched under heavy penalties. The grain thus collected was sold on the spot or transferred to the royal granaries, and realised for payment into the state treasury, the price being at the arbitrary will of the state, though policy oftener dictated that a fair marketable value should be demanded. Grain, from its comparative scarcity, realised a higher price in Lower than in Upper Sindh, particularly the Khurif crops: thus it was generally transmitted to the capital in boats for a very low rate of remuneration to the owners, and too frequently none at all. This system of cultivating the soil in Sindh appeared to be fair and advantageous to all parties; that is, to the Zamindar and the revenue: at least the former generally evinced a thriving condition, and the latter was satisfied. The lower class of workpeople were, it is true, only subsisted; but in the East this is the limit of their wants and wishes, and in Sindh the mass of the agricultural people knowing no comparative superiority of condition, did not estimate

it lowly, though, as compared with the ryut or common subject of our Indian or neighbouring Eastern territories, it was so;—evinced in the possession by the Sindhian of the means of existence only, and the simplest form of shed to shield him from the weather; beyond these none of the comforts of life for himself or family which are elsewhere observable.

The Zamindar in Sindh pays his workpeople of every kind, even to the artizan who repairs his implements, in grain during the whole time they are employed, and, at the winding up of his accounts with the government officer, affixes his signature or seal to the records as a proof that he is satisfied, and to prevent after-disputes. Renewal of his agreement was allowed by the Kardar, or deputy of the Amirs, presiding over the district.

Another system of cultivating consisted in payments in cash of a certain sum of *jurib* (which in Sindh comprises a space of land about 150 feet square) as rent of land to be employed, the amount varying as in the Zamindari according to the productive property of the soil, or value of crops (opium and indigo paid as high as 20 and 80 rupees per biga), generally from 6 to 12 rupees (12*s.* to 24*s.*) per jurib; and as an inducement to place waste or dry land under cultivation a very low rate was allowed for the first year, 1 rupee per jurib (or 2*s.*), and increased gradually in proportion to the increased productiveness. Productions of the soil not being grains were generally cultivated after this

method, which is known as *jumma* or land rent, as also spring crops raised by irrigation from wells, a certain rate being charged for the use of these, varying with their supply of water, whether the well were temporary or permanent. In cases of unforeseen causes influencing a diminution of crops, the rent thus agreed upon was liable to certain reduction, though only on a strong recommendation to that effect from the revenue officers. The whole plan of cultivation between the freeholder and tenant (for so it may be termed) in Sindh appears to have been milder and more equitable than might have been expected under an absolute form of government: a scanty population and the comparatively small proportion of soil yielding revenue, deducting grants and game preserves, dictated that this principal and most important source of wealth to the Amirs should be fostered as much as possible, and though misgovernment and grasping views occasionally induced them to acts of severity with their Zamindars and tenants, the Amirs were met with such combined opposition, particularly by the former; that their own interests suffered, and they were thus compelled to adhere to established rules. It was only under the short-sighted system of farming or contracting for land revenue in the bulk to be hereafter described, that oppression was generally committed, and then it unfortunately fell upon the lowest of the labouring classes.

Gardens and date-trees formed another source of

land revenue, and were generally farmed out for the season at a certain fixed rate, or let at a certain sum annually: these paid in many parts of Sindh very high from their productive value, particularly if situated in the vicinity of the river; when near towns of any size or importance they were included in their fiscal arrangements.

The extensive canals and water-courses conveying the fertilising waters of the Indus over the whole country, distinguished the divisions of Sindh, and gave titles to its land revenue collections. If the Amirs kept these clear (which they seldom did), they charged a certain additional rate on the cultivator using them, but if, as was generally the case, the Zamindar or cultivator did the work, he obtained a certain allowance in reduction for the same in settling his annual accounts. The means afforded by these outlets to the Indus for increasing the fertility and therefore the revenues of the Amirs of Sindh were unlimited, yet inconsistently enough with rulers so avaricious, such resources were completely neglected all over the country, occasionally only a forcible conscription of the Míani tribe being made to clear them; but as neither pay nor food were for any length of time afforded to these poor people, they invariably deserted, and little or nothing was done. The price of such labour is wonderfully cheap in Sindh, a pound of flour or about two-pence per day being the rate allowed; and the vigour and endurance of

the Míanis at this kind of work, at which they are very expert, exceeds that of any other class of labourers in India; their method of canal cleaning has been before described. The Sindhian method of government was certainly a strange anomaly as well in its fiscal as other branches, but in both the errors are to be traced to limited views. The ruling vice of avarice, so prominent, yet defeated its own objects; and the chiefs, refusing to be instructed by those examples which neighbouring and less highly favoured countries afforded, allowed every thing in Sindh to become stagnant or to retrograde, and it seemed as if its possessors were determined to be blinded against any and all of the advantages they possessed.

A striking instance in proof of this was afforded in the vicinity of the large and important city of Shikarpúr, whose neighbouring lands were mainly dependent for fertility on a large canal called the *Sindh* (in allusion to its size), yet for many years this fructifying medium no less important also for commercial purposes, as affording constant water carriage to this commercial and populous city, was so completely neglected, that at length it was nearly choked up at its mouth and hardly capable of containing at the highest point of inundation of the river sufficient water for three or four months of the year, boats being nearly excluded except of very small draught. On the proposed transfer of the city and adjoining lands to the British govern-

ment in commutation of a certain amount of cash tribute from the Amirs, it was deemed politic for the general improvement of the districts, to clean this canal as well as another nearly as large, and in the course of sixty days under the superintendence of a British engineer officer and with about two thousand men, this was done for a distance of nearly forty miles, so that for nine months in the year it was applicable to all purposes of fertility and even navigation! and the increase of revenue was calculated by the Amirs' own officers to amount in one year to three times the sum expended. This is merely quoted as one of the many instances which might be adduced of deplorable apathy, the result of the inactive government of Sindh. As a proof of the Amirs' cunning or jealousy, however, it should be added that seeing the improvement our energy had occasioned they evaded the bargain of transfer of the district alluded to. The Jahgirdars and other possessors of land knew the value of their canals and watercourses too well not to spend both time and money on their improvement, and in such districts these outlets from the river were always kept in excellent order. The river Indus deposits so much soil that it was always necessary to clear a channel of this sort after every season of inundation.

The other sources of revenue in Sindh consisted in those derived from trade or manufactures, town or transit duties, others of the same kind under a

variety of minor heads, and like the land revenues very complicated in detail; but they will be sufficiently explained by a general description of the whole, thus:—the port of Ḱarrachi levied 6 per cent. ad valorem on all goods imported, and 2½ per cent. on all exported, an additional 3 rupees per cent. being also charged before quitting the town: without communicating the items it will be sufficient to mention that a camel-load of merchandize, such as English manufactured piece goods, for instance, would pay, including transit duties from the time of their landing in Sindh until they reached the northern extremity of the country by land route, the sum of 58 rupees, or *5l. 16s.* duty alone, not including the necessary charges for hire of camels, payment of escort, and others incidental to the journey. All tolls and tariffs by the river route were abolished by late treaties with the British government, with the view of opening a road to commerce by means of the stream; but on such goods landing at any part of the Sindhian dominions, they were subject to the established duties of the country. Town duties consisted in charges levied at the gates of every city or village on articles of every kind, whether for food or consumption in any shape, on the camel or beast of burthen conveying such; all purchases and sales of every kind, even of grain and common articles of food in the bazaars, were liable to a duty called *Tarazú*, or that of the scales. Transit duties were those paid at certain

points throughout the Sindhian territories on merchandize traversing them, and were the heaviest of all imposts on trade, so much so that the merchants whose transactions were extensive, obtained a certain rate of exemption under especial grants to that effect, otherwise they could hardly have afforded to continue their traffic. Liquors and intoxicating drugs were sold under licenses or state contracts: every loom paid a certain tax, as also every article manufactured, or produced by skill or labour, and a capitation tax was also levied on artizans and shopkeepers of every description. The fisherman was bound to yield one-third of the produce of his nets to the ruler, and each boat employed on the Indus paid a certain sum. *Chout*, or one-fourth of all sums disputed between parties, and adjusted by the judicial officers of the Amirs, was another important source of revenue, and also included the same share of all stolen property recovered through their exertions. The better to relieve themselves from the former of these burdens, the Hindús invariably had recourse as much as possible to arbitration; but as such decisions were not valid in law, being of course strictly discountenanced, they were after all liable to appeal, or to be revised as suited the interests of parties. Without entering further into detail it will be sufficient to observe that, if we except our own country, it would be difficult to find a more general system of taxation than that of Sindh; but with this disadvantage,

that such burdens were there placed on those particular classes whose exemption from them would have been politic and advantageous to the state, and bore heavy on the very quarters where prudence dictated they should be the lightest; at the same time an avaricious and rapacious despotism was capricious in its demands, and rendered no account of injustice: if an unfortunate Hindú trader, for instance, was known to have amassed more than usual wealth, causes of complaint were readily found, and he was certain to be gently *squeezed* until he disgorged it. Yet as a proof that this class of people, who as traders were particularly subjected to the vexatious imposts generally, but on commerce particularly, which distinguished Sindhian policy, were yet either satisfied with the state of things, or, what is more accordant with probability, managed by their extreme cunning to effect their objects despite apparent insurmountable obstacles, it is notorious that with few exceptions they still adhered to the country, and were decidedly as a body rich and flourishing. The clear profits on the Shikarpúr trade for goods transmitted by the Hindú Soucars from Bombay, with the payment of every expense, were 20 per cent.: after all, therefore, the rapacious system, taking as an example that class of Sindhian subjects who, of all others, were particularly exposed to it, if tested by its results was not so blighting as might have been expected, though obviously con-

demnable and the just cause of reproach against the rulers of a country, who by adopting a more liberal policy would have added indefinitely to their own revenues, and have placed every class of their subjects many steps higher in the scale of comfort and civilisation.

Anxious to avoid the trouble of collecting revenue in detail, and to forestall its realisation, the greater portions were always farmed to Szardars or contractors, as they were termed, for a fixed sum, and a system of abuse and injustice at once perpetuated, for such farmers were at the same time supported with sufficient authority to enable them to make good their contracts to the Amirs (and these were never likely to abate one iota of their bond) by any means so they were fulfilled. The subjects therefore had no appeal, for their judge was at the same time the defendant, and the Amirs only granting these farms yearly, the farmer had no chance of supplying the deficiency of one season by the surplus of another; and if he found he was likely to make but slender profits, took his own measures to make up his accounts, of course at the expense of the country. Land as well as town and other sources of revenue were included in these farms, and the wily Hindú, having the command of ready money, generally held them: having to deal with those who showed him no mercy, and with whom his bonds were of little value to save him from oppression, and were certain to be rigidly enforced, he

took his measures accordingly, and notwithstanding his constant plea of loss, poverty, and inability to fulfil his engagements, never failed to secure his profits at the expense of his employers, showing little mercy to any party. This method of farming the revenues of a country is one of the most pernicious that can be pursued, and from it may be dated many of the evils which were visible in the Sindhian revenue arrangements; it is difficult to understand why the Hyderabad branch of the family adopted it, for their abundant wealth rendered it uncalled for, and avarice therefore, which is always short-sighted, or the distrust of servants, could alone have dictated it, for it was always the least profitable mode of collection. With the Khyrpúr branch (not including Mir Allí Múrad) there was said to be an absolute necessity for forestalling or mortgaging the revenue to provide for current expenses of the durbar; the lands and sources of revenue generally here being comparatively small to the great extent of jahgirs and inams to chiefs and others.

The Amirs, for the better protection of their interests throughout the country, had deputies or kardars over each province or district, and to each was established a certain number of inferior servants, munshís (writers), generally Hindús and others, whose duty it was to keep an accurate account of the revenues where these were not farmed, and otherwise administer their affairs. Each Amir

had his particular representative of this kind; and as a town was sometimes divided into six or seven shares, according to the number of Amirs possessing it, a strange confusion of interests, municipal and fiscal, arose; but as deference was paid to the servant of the senior Amir, or he who possessed the principal share in the place, disputes were thus resolved, or, failing this, subjected to the judgment of the durbar. The police was also in the hands of these officers, and in Sindh was certainly on the most limited scale, a dozen miserably-armed and mounted men at the largest towns constituting a liberal quota. The system obtained, however, of the liability of each village or locality to the responsibility of stolen property traced to it, and proved not to have gone beyond. This method of detecting stolen goods is adopted in many parts of India, and though simple is very efficient: it can only be pursued, however, where the faculty of tracing footsteps is brought to such perfection as in that country; if a robbery be only announced to the kotwal or magistrate of a town within a moderate period after its committal, it will invariably be traced up, and responsibility rests with those who cannot follow up the tracks beyond their own precincts.

The gates of all towns are closed in the East soon after sunset; and as no travellers journey after nightfall unless in cases of extraordinary emergency, or any class of inhabitants quit their abodes at that

period, suspicion attaches to all persons so seen, and they are liable accordingly. A kotwal or petty magistrate occupies a prominent position in places of any size or importance, and he has charge of police, and holds a small court for the administration of summary punishment to offenders. The Sindhians, including the Bilúchis and inhabitants generally, are very expert thieves, as many travellers through that country can testify, but they are equally expert in tracing robbery to its committers. On arrival at a town or village, the stranger may claim the protection of a watchman, and in such case, should he lose his property, the village is held responsible, but not otherwise; each village or place of smaller importance is provided with a head man who is the principal authority, and looked up to by the inhabitants as such.

Sindh was considered to be divided into forty-four districts for revenue purposes, the principal of which were in Lower Sindh—Tattah, Chachgam, Kukralla, Dharajah, Súndra, Imamwah (the term *wah* always implies a canal, and denotes a portion of country situated on one); east of the river, Súndra, Shadadpúr, Khyrpúr, Gambat, Halla, Bihlani, Lohri; westward of the river, Sewistan (or Sehwun), Chandokah (by far the most fertile and valuable of all the pergunnahs—it appears to accord with that designated by Arrian as "the verdant"), Moghulli, Rúpur, Kúcha and Chapper. There are various others of minor or equal importance, but they

need not be detailed: to have ascertained the boundaries of the possession of each individual of the Talpúr family, numbering in all about thirty land-holders, would have been a work of great time and accurate inquiry. Disputes on boundary questions were of course of constant occurrence in a system of "regnum in regno," which was most intricate and complicated. A recent traveller has graphically described the method of settling claims to islands formed by the Indus by the floating of earthen pots, deciding the right, according to the majority of pots taking the eastern or western side of the island, and thus proving the owner of that bank of the river to be that of the island also.

The administration of justice except capital offences was in the hands of the kardars, and the law founded on the Koran and expounded by Múftis or learned doctors was that administered. It is to be feared the stream of justice being impure at its source did not flow very clear in Sindh, the kardars being too often ignorant and prejudiced men, and with a bare pittance in the shape of salary were necessarily venal and corrupt. The Amirs were decidedly averse to extreme punishments; and the most notorious culprit seldom suffered beyond mutilation, chopping off the left hand, or cutting off ears and noses: even this to holy characters was by mistaken mercy changed to imprisonment for life; and a curious though shocking instance of this was to be seen at Tattah in the

shape of an unfortunate wretch confined in a wooden cage for nearly twenty years until he had become quite brutal and insensible. The Talpúrs were certainly free from the charge of cruelty; and in this they deserve great credit, considering their uncivilised position and absolute power over the lives of their subjects. Beyond the consideration shown to those whom they looked upon as sacred characters, they were always prone to evince the same to Bilúchis, the most predatory and restless of their subjects: a feeling of clanship was probably the actuating motive here, though they did not hesitate to mutilate or otherwise punish to the extreme allowed. The policy of such a system was of course more than questionable; and it is only astonishing, considering the very lax state of the law, absence of police, and mistaken clemency of the rulers, that crime was comparatively so little rife in Sindh; yet such was the case: and taking the extent of territory generally, it was notorious that the security for life and property was generally very great; every man, it is true, was his own defender, always armed and always in a position to resist violence. In portions of the country coming within the range of unsettled and completely predatory tribes, the inhabitants of Sindh were exposed to constant forays, and the want of protection was severely felt, but this was confined to localities, and not general. The Amirs held courts of justice at the capital, and appeals against the

decisions of inferior officers were here allowed; but it is to be feared that such judgments were much guided by corruption, for where avarice was concerned all considerations of justice became subservient, and it was generally considered that both plaintiff and defendant paid highly ere they could obtain a hearing, and still higher for a verdict. It should be recorded that Mir Ghúllam Allí Talpúr was noted for his undeviating love of justice and its pure administration; but he was a solitary instance in his family before or since.

The amount of Sindhian revenue from every source has been variously estimated at various periods; thus, on the accession of the Talpúrs at the commencement of the present century, they were considered to amount to a surplus of forty lacs (400,000*l.*) annually; in 1809 they were said to be nearly forty-three lacs (430,000*l.*); in 1814 sixty-one lacs (610,000*l.*); in 1824 something under fifty lacs (500,000*l.*); and latterly decreasing again to about thirty-five lacs (350,000*l.*), for all the branches of the family. But all these are mere approximations to the real value of the Sindhian exchequer, for we have never had an opportunity of accurately testing the exact amount of the whole revenue derived by the Talpúr family individually and collectively for their possessions. They were on all occasions exceedingly jealous of such inquiries, and it was not our policy to make them, as calculated to lead to distrust and a mis-

interpretation of our objects: judging, however, from those portions of territory where circumstances rendered it necessary for us to obtain accurate estimates pending negotiations for transfer of territory, it would appear that the total up to the latest date may be taken as fully estimated at the last-mentioned sum of thirty-five lacs (350,000*l.*) said to be divided thus: to the Hyderabad Amirs under thirty lacs (Mir Nasir Khan nine lacs, Mir Mahomed Khan six lacs, Sobhdar five lacs, and the two sons of Mir Mahomed about eight lacs between them), and the balance between the Amirs of Khyrpúr, Diji, and Mirpúr; but these are still only very rough calculations. The Hyderabad family paid three lacs, or 30,000*l.* annually to the British government, a light tribute considering the advantages secured. The Talpúrs, however, were always considered to be exceedingly rich, particularly the head of the family, Mir Nasir Khan. Mir Futteh Allí divided at his death in 1801 nearly thirty-five lacs between his three surviving brothers, and the charge of "diligent rapacity and inflexible economy," which at that early period was made against them, has certainly not been since removed. The tribute to the Cabúl throne has been paid to the amount only of a very small proportion of its real value by a commutation of twenty-one lacs in 1839, and a release from all further charge hereafter; and as the expenses of their household are but very trifling, the family

generally must have amassed and hoarded great wealth. The citadel at Hyderabad was considered to contain large treasures in supersession of Omarkót, and the chiefs were even accused of burying their jewels and valuables in the deserts and other unfrequented parts of their dominions. Each Amir held his share of revenue as distinct property, and the only general treasury was that to which all contributed for the support of missions to foreign courts, and the expenses of presents which were made periodically to the Punjaub and Bhawulpúr princes. The meanness of the Sindhian durbar was strongly exemplified in these, and deputations often waited at their courts like creditors for many months, until by importunity they succeeded in getting an equivalent in value to those they had brought.

The whole system of government and revenue arrangements of Sindh were evidently as defective as might have been expected in such a situation, and, if not oppressive to the majority of the subjects, at least diametrically opposed to improvement, being indeed based upon principles of exclusive, avaricious, and short-sighted policy. The Amirs had only in view the accumulation of wealth, the enjoyment of their own sources of gratification, and the conciliating a large military and feudal establishment, who held the actual power over the chiefs as well as the whole country completely in their hands did they at any time wish to exercise it: the

charges politically of "temporary and superficial,' however, which have been made against this curiously divided combination, if we may use the terms, were in reality unfounded; and, as before explained, there is reason to believe that if the Sindh Amirs could have persevered in their policy of rejecting all foreign alliances, they could have perpetuated their form and system of rule with all its errors to an indefinite period. As applied to the development of the resources of a fine country, the improvement of its commerce, and general amelioration of its inhabitants, the military despotism of Sindh, like that of other Asiatic countries where it generally obtains, was radically inimical: trade laboured under severe burdens, which crippled and confined it in extent, and placed it in the hands of a few; instead of making it expansive, as in a country so situated it was capable of becoming, labour and ingenuity were so taxed that they languished and became rare, though the natives were inclined naturally to activity, and were in no degree wanting in talents and capability. The manufactures of Sindh were, until the beginning of the present century, peculiar to the country, and justly estimated: their decline has not, as in other parts of India, been the result so much of the rapid and general introduction of European articles at a cheaper rate, and, therefore, their universal adoption, but rather the consequence of grasping policy, seeking in every department to enrich the ruler at the

expense of the country. The soil, instead of being made to yield the increase of which it is so highly capable, was, except the small proportion allowed by the chiefs for their own revenue purposes, wasted or applied to barbarous uses of harbouring game; and where cultivation was carried on it had not the decided encouragement which it merited. Of the people, the Bilúchi military tribes, or those partaking in a system which secured them such decided advantages, were of course highly satisfied, and enjoyed the full benefit of a policy in which they were so immediately interested; but their condition was that of perfect barbarism and bigoted ignorance. The other classes of inhabitants being sunk in a state of degraded apathy, were not capable of estimating any other objects than those of a mere animal existence, and, though not treated with actual cruelty or tyranny, were yet the sufferers of a selfish despotism acting on their condition, though they knew not how. As compared to other states, their position was lower than that of all others around them: their wants were few and easily supplied, and hence their tacit submission to a system which had become habitual.

The British government throughout its Indian history has generally experienced the same condition of states as that of Sindh in the same stages of society as that in which we found this country; and its efforts have been invariably directed, and wisely, to gradually introduce a better order of

things, and by placing misgovernment and liberal policy in palpable juxtaposition, prove by degrees, though infallibly, the advantages of the former to the power and position of the ruler, no less than the condition of the subject. It has not sought by sweeping reforms and general revolutions to overturn old systems, and erect thereon at once its own superior fabric; for such methods, however anxious our government has been to abolish abuses, would only have tended to defeat the object in view, it having been proved that nothing is so difficult as to induce faith in the honesty of intentions, or at once eradicate distrust and jealousy from barbarous minds, whilst argument is useless in attempting to prove the errors of their modes of government. The history of our connection with Sindh is strikingly illustrative of the difficulties encountered in treating with its chiefs, though as steadily overcome by the distinguished public servants who have had to lay the foundation of a more liberal policy, by pleading its cause with that ignorant and therefore arrogant court. The Amirs of Sindh latterly, there is every reason to believe, were becoming gradually awakened to a sense of their errors of government, and individually could be brought to acknowledge them; but the princes were not, it must be kept in mind, the parties to be alone consulted: there were those about them to whose opinion they were bound to pay every respect, if not obedience, who looked upon the slightest alteration

as direct innovation, and all improvement as totally opposed to their interests — hence the difficulties to be contended with. Probably no form of rule and class of rulers with whom we have been brought into contact in the East presented so many obstacles to reformation as that of Sindh, and no court required from its peculiar construction so much diplomatic address and talent as this in dealing with it: how abundantly both were displayed will soon appear. We take leave of this part of the subject by repeating our former observation, that, condemning as we must, on civilised principles, the whole system of Sindhian government as applied to the condition of the people and country, we do so in pity only at the want of enlightenment which occasioned it, and would temper our observations, where they appear harsh, by every allowance for the circumstances of those whose acts are called in question.

CHAP. XIV.

Importance attached to Sindhian Trade.—Exertions of British Government.—Apathy of Chiefs.—Poverty of Sindh as applied to Trade.—Real State and Prospects of Trade, home and provincial.—Internal Trade.—Commerce with Countries to the N. W.—Importance of Shikarpúr.—Exports to Candahar.—No other Trade of any Extent.—Pali Jeysulmir.—Tattah Manufactures exported.—Commerce, how to be extended.—Indus.—Steam Navigation.—Hindú System of Trade.—Central Asia not to be abandoned commercially.—Effects of Steam Navigation.—Time, Risk, and Expense saved.—Bilúchistan and Kilat.—Countries of Upper Indus how at present supplied.—Change to be effected.—General Review.—Weights and Measures of Sindh.—Value of Currency.

Great importance has at all times been attached to the trade of the river Indus; and Sindh occupying so prominent a position as the key of the whole river, has thus obtained a commercial celebrity which in itself, as a consumer of manufactures, it has hitherto but little merited; it is still, however, intimately connected with the commerce of that river, being the entrepôt and great line of communication between the sea and Central Asia, as also the countries to its north and north-east, and is, without doubt, capable, under altered circumstances and in course of time, of producing large demands, and of furnishing valuable staples in return, so that its trade generally, whether of home or transit, deserves particular attention.

and though a dry subject to ordinary readers, will, it is hoped, from its importance, be permitted a space in a work which proposes to convey useful information.

The unceasing efforts which the British government has made to establish commercial relations with Sindh, and to procure an unimpeded road up the Indus to the merchant, will appear in the history of our connection with the country, a connection which had its origin, and has continued till lately, for this particular purpose: but the policy of the Sindhian rulers have, on the contrary, been directed to prevent as much as possible this traffic, either through their country or by the river, or by the subjects of other states, as they viewed it with political jealousy, and could not be brought to look upon it in any other light than that of innovation. Their own policy has been shown to have been little adapted to foster trade in their own dominions and amongst their own subjects; and but, that a portion of these (the Hindús) were persevering and indefatigable merchants, whom no disadvantages or discouragement could arrest, the comparatively small transit of merchandize through Sindh would have ceased altogether, and it would have scarcely imported more than its own necessary supplies: such for many years back has been the state of trade in Sindh, and it has thus been continually languishing and retrograding under the evils opposed to its development. Whilst such

has been the real condition of Sindh, a generally limited acquaintance with the country, its resources, and its geographical position, as affecting its communication with other countries, has too often induced erroneous and highly exaggerated views with reference to its commercial value, and much speculation, disappointment, and consequent apathy have resulted from finding that high expectations were not answered: thus years have been spent without any advance towards the object in view, and the commencement of active though reasonable measures has been quite abandoned. Trade is always progressive; and if this truth had been kept in view at starting it is probable that the just conclusion would have been drawn, and it might have been inferred that Sindh, as a poor and misgoverned country (however capable), could not in itself be one of immediate demand or of great production. In a country thinly populated, and so unfortunately ruled, there has been hitherto no opening for more than limited trade: the inhabitants can have few wants beyond the mere ordinary necessaries of life, and no means of satisfying others, did they arise. Their productions of the soil were limited to those of daily use and consumption, and no value attached to such as are demanded by foreign markets. Such has been the state of Sindh commercially for ages past; though when the trade of that country was latterly discussed, it was with apparently very mistaken ideas as to its real value.

Sindh can, in short, until its condition be considerably changed, only be considered commercially important as a great route and entrepôt for traffic with countries beyond it; and though it is fully capable in itself of becoming a wonderfully rich and productive country, its resources must be developed, and the condition of its inhabitants materially improved, before it becomes either a great consumer or producer. Thus insignificant as are the present individually commercial merits of Sindh, they become otherwise when combined with a general view of the prospects of an active communication by means of the river, which forms its leading feature; and the commerce of Sindh may then be considered as intimately connected with that of the whole Indus, and of the greatest importance, though still only so as applied to its progression rather than to its actual state.

The Indus having long been at that particular point where it required to be under a liberal and enlightened policy, completely in the hands of a short-sighted and bigoted faction, has never been completely opened to the merchant as his direct means of transport; and he has sought as much as possible to avoid it, from its exorbitant duties and consequent ruinous expenses, in the first place; but in the second, more particularly from its disheartening and tedious navigation, which have, one or both, had the effect of driving all traffic from it to its shores, or of allowing the trader to

seek the most circuitous and disadvantageous land routes from the presidencies of Western India or Bengal; burdened with risks and expenses which confined the intercourse within the narrowest possible limits; proving, at the same time, in its existing at all under such obstacles, that it would have increased proportionally were they removed.

We shall draw no exaggerated picture of the trade to be opened or expanded by means of the river Indus, but study to depict the matter to the best of our ability, as its prospects really stand. Hitherto impediments of more than ordinary magnitude have existed to prevent the Indus being open for commercial purposes, and it has thus ceased to be a means of commercial transit for many years, the advantages it obviously presents for such being completely lost. Sindhian revolutions and crabbed politics have been mainly instrumental in this state of things, coupled with that strong stagnation in all improving measures which particularly distinguishes the country under consideration. Commencing with a slight review of the provincial or home-trade of Sindh, being that confined to its own supply and consumption, the imports may be enumerated as consisting principally of English piece goods, velvets, woollens, sugar, groceries, spices, and metals, the greater part of which are derived from Bombay; cotton, coarse cloths, and silk fabrics, from Marwar and Guzírat; silk goods manufactured from Bhawulpúr

and Múltan; raw silk from the north-west, as also dyes, drugs, dried fruits, horses, &c. from the same quarter; ivory from Cutch, and wood from the Guzírat and Malabar coasts. The description of English manufactured articles which obtain consideration in Sindh are chintzes and calicoes, and a peculiar description of cotton highly-coloured goods, which are called "Zebras," and particularly applicable to the Eastern markets. The coarser plainer kinds of cotton goods, so much used, are either the produce of Marwar or the looms of the country, British long cloth and muslins being used by the higher classes; woollen broad cloths have also a limited demand. The English spun thread is imported in great quantities into Sindh, and used for the production of the superior kinds of cotton cloth of the country. The groceries, or as they are called in the country, "*Kiranú*," comprising all those articles of necessary consumption coming under that head, form the most important feature in the import trade for home consumption: woollen and cotton cloths are very secondary, though the former was the great item in which the British government proposed to establish a trading communication with the country; but they are too expensive for general wear, and, for the few who use them, require to be particularly adapted to the Asiatic taste, in strong and striking colours. A coarse but thick and comfortable cotton article is made in the country, and provides for the wants of the population

in warm clothing. Wool is not manufactured in the country into articles of apparel, but is exported in transit through the country for the British market. Metals include all denominations under that head: as importations, they are always in their native state, and all articles of hardware in domestic use throughout Sindh are manufactured in the country. The consumption of raw material is limited. The drugs and dyes introduced in the Khorassan import trade (under which title such north-western countries as Candahar, Hirat, &c. are generally designated), are very important, as the home manufactures in silk and cotton are dependent on them. The raw silk from these quarters is also much used, and consists of the "Tuni," "Derryai," "Kokani," "Khaf," "Chilla," and "Gheilani:" the latter of these is the most valued, though the best description made up in the country is the produce of China imported from Bombay; also a fine kind of cotton used for intricate embroidery is highly prized, and brought in limited quantities from Khorassan or Hirat: it is called Nirma. Turquoise earth is a very important feature in the north-western imports. This beautiful stone is introduced into Sindh in its roughest state, as taken from the mines of Nishapúr near Meshed on the confines of Persia, and is polished and prepared by the most simple methods. It is in such universal demand, and so cheap and plentiful, that all classes, even to the poorest peasant's wife or children, in the

country adorn themselves with Firozis, as the stones are called. The larger sizes obtain considerable prices, but they are scarce, a small description only leaving the mines for trade, the valuable pieces being monopolised by the Persian government. Gold in ducats, and thread for embroidery, also arrive from the north-west; dried fruits and horses have been mentioned as imported from the same direction, but the latter are principally in transit to India, where they are sought for by the British government for cavalry and artillery, particularly the latter from their size and strength; the chiefs purchase a few only.

Such, briefly, are the principal heads of the import home trade of Sindh in articles consumed in the country, and only required for such purposes. The value or quantity of such cannot readily be determined apart from imports entering Sindh for transmission to the marts beyond, but they may be assumed as of limited extent, being only such as are absolutely required, and comprising only such articles as are indispensably necessary to a scanty population of few wants and poor in the abstract. To extend this branch of trade to any profitable purpose, as far as the country itself is concerned, it is necessary to alter the condition of the people, so as to increase their demands: for it is obvious that until they are in a position to be enabled to enjoy the additional comforts of life, they are not likely to increase the demand for artificial

luxuries. The courts had a very insignificant effect in creating the demand for foreign goods, particularly manufactures; their wants being but very limited, and generally supplied by home or Eastern productions, and even then on a very limited scale. The whole country is, in short, too poor, and its rulers were too penurious to have any beyond a very limited demand, and its provincial trade was on a proportionally small and limited scale.

The export trade from Sindh of its own productions consists in rice, ghi, opium, indigo, dried fish, and leather, from its ports in the Delta and Karrachi, of the latter, in considerable quantity; with indigo, cotton, coarse cloths, silk manufactured goods, salt, and saltpetre, to Khorassan, in part return for the imported goods from the same quarter.

The internal home trade of Sindh consists in the interchange of productions between portions of the country, according to demand. The upper country supplies the lower portions with its surplus dry grains, ghi, cotton, indigo, &c., and receives from the latter rice, fish, manufactured leather, arms, &c.

Beyond the importation of goods necessary for its home consumption and the limited export of its own productions, Sindh, notwithstanding every disadvantage under which it laboured as a commercial country, and despite the unusual obstacles presented, has yet carried on a tolerably brisk transit trade with the north-west, particularly

Candahar, and has been the entrepôt for the supply of all beyond the common wants of the rude tribes on its western deserts. The principal points connected with its foreign trade, as distinguished from provincial and home consumption, have been its port of Karrachi and the mart of Shikarpúr, at its northern extremity; and in both places the enterprising Hindú is the sole agent by whose means it has been sustained; receiving the supplies intended for the north, they are transmitted by an uncertain and tedious land carriage of from thirty to forty days from the former to the latter, with the charges of exorbitant import and transit duties, heavy rates of hire of camels, and purchase of protection from the tribes who formed the escort. Reaching Shikarpúr, the usual and only method of transmission by land-carriage through the mountain defiles, occupying twenty-five to thirty days. This trade, however, still cleared on an average twenty per cent. profit, and was valued at between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* annually. Shikarpúr was designated, as before observed, one of the gates of Khorassan, because it is in the direct route from the Indus to that country by the great defile of the Bolan, which offers the only means of communication with the upper country, and has therefore always been, and must continue to be, adopted as the commercial line of traffic. There is no place in the whole line of the Indus which exercised such immediate and extensive influence on the commerce of Central

Asia as Shikarpúr; and it is an extraordinary proof of the talent, energy, and even courage of its merchants, that this influence has been but partially diminished. The greater proportion of the money and banking transactions of every mart, from the Indus to the Caspian, had their centre in this city; and under any other form of government its Soucars would have brought the traffic to a great extent of prosperity. The exports to Candahar, beyond the products of Sindh before given, consisted of British piece goods (printed cottons, &c.), chintzes, velvets, broad cloths, metals, sugar, groceries, and spices. The imports from the same quarter have been described. The kaffillas, as they are called, or caravans, travelled during the cold season, and reached Shikarpúr from Candahar in December and January, leaving until March, when the trying climate of the intervening deserts shut out all further communication.

In order to avoid the enormous expenses attendant on land traffic through Sindh, owing to the heavy imposts levied by the Amirs on trade, much of the Candahar trade which would otherwise have passed through that country, took the route of the mountain paths, over the Bilúchistan mountains, though attended with greater risks and expenses, from the rapacity of the tribes through which it had to travel, and thus reached the upper countries by a direct road, avoiding the Sindhian dominions altogether.

Sindh had no branch of trade with other countries, of any importance to us, compared to that above alluded to, for in it alone was comprised a demand for our manufactured goods; for as Central Asia is the point whereto we have long striven to open the road for an unopposed commerce, so Sindh is the point whence hereafter, as heretofore, the intercourse must be kept up, and on which its base must rest. A country so situated, and possessing such extraordinary advantages in the relative position of its port, river, and a direct land communication of comparatively short distance, has at once those elements of traffic which are indispensably necessary, but which, being provided, leave nothing to want but that energy which is necessary to effect every object, however trifling.

The trade of Sindh with Pali (in Marwar), Jeysulmir, Bhawulpúr, Punjaub, Guzírat, and neighbouring countries, is of minor importance, and merits little description, beyond the sketch of the interchange of some manufactures or productions of the soil before given. British manufactures sometimes find their way to Sindh, from Bombay, by these routes, but not generally. The fabrics of the looms of Sindh are useful only as applied to its own population, or the rude inhabitants of its neighbouring deserts : those peculiar to Tattah certainly form an exception, particularly the Lúnghí before mentioned of a peculiar kind of mixed cotton and silk stuff. There are about

twenty different descriptions, but a very small proportion of these are now considered fit for foreign markets; and its simple cotton articles, for which it was famous, have been supplanted by British material in a raw state, and stamped on the spot with patterns peculiar to the native taste.

The first subject therefore now to be considered is how commerce, always of the greatest importance to us nationally, is to be extended in a north and north-westerly direction, on and beyond the Indus, and what are the prospects there opened to efforts directed to foster it. The means appear to be obvious, and the navigation of the Indus by steam, as a power alone calculated to overcome its difficulties, is evidently the point of primary attention, without which no advantages can be gained, and the river must remain, as heretofore, neglected as a means of transit. Loss of time, expense, and risk, have been the great obstacles against which the limited trade on and beyond the Indus has had to contend. A sketch of this river, and the adjacent countries, will at once show its extraordinary applicability to provide a communication between the ocean and the immense tracts beyond it, including as they do thickly populated, productive, and rapidly rising kingdoms; yet as such a medium the Indus has been hitherto unknown: its stream has offered insurmountable difficulties to native ingenuity; and the merchant as well as the traveller rejected it, and sought the less difficult and tedious

method, though more expensive and hazardous one, of journeying by land: where there has been but a limited communication, there has not of course existed any but a limited demand; these countries, therefore, have never yet been allowed the opportunity of becoming consumers of our manufactures, nor been offered any inducement to display their wealth, in the native productions of their soils, though they are known to be rich in many constantly in request in our markets, and, as such, in a position to make that fair return hereafter which is essential to the establishment of trade on the common basis of reciprocal benefits.

From the sea through the country of Sindh, and thence through the mountains to Affghanistan, there is at present an existing trade on a comparatively limited scale; the conditions of both having been long opposed to any very important demands, or to the increase of their productions to any valuable result; whilst the means of approach have been, at the same time, of the most trying and disheartening kind, contributing in a great degree to lessen the supply, if not influencing the consumption. The prospects here opened, if the river route be commanded by rapid navigation, are decidedly favourable, and if the Hindú traders succeeded in continuing the commerce with handsome profits, despite of delays, risks, and expenses almost insurmountable, we may fairly argue that, possessing additional advantages, it will continue to increase in fair proportions; for time and ex-

pense will be both subservient, and cost be reduced to such a scale as to make consumption general, without at all interfering with the merchants' profits, but rather increasing them. Sindh itself, for instance, contains a million of inhabitants; and though their present condition is inimical to large consumption, and to any but ordinary wants, those wants must be supplied; and though their country at present is wasted and unproductive, it cannot always continue such,—for its soil must yield if it be cultivated; and it must be cultivated, if there be but the slightest encouragement to do so. Taking its produce in grain alone, as a single instance, what may not be done with increased inducement in a country so situated? Why should it not export corn, in which it is capable of indefinite fertility, for the supply of our own market? There can be no answer in the negative. Its other productions have been detailed, and these may be rendered available to any extent required. Central Asia has had, at all times, a very fair, if not extensive demand for our manufactures in cloths and metals. We have, it is true, abandoned our position in it, but not its trade; at least, if we do, it will only be to throw it into other hands; for we have still the power of exercising an influence over it which will be equivalent to a command; for if we can throw our goods into its principal markets, Candahar, with a land-carriage of about three hundred miles only from Bombay to that point, who is to compete with us? or, rather, with the carriers of our merchandise, the Hindú traders of Sindh? It

must not be supposed that the commercial importance to us of the Indus has decreased, as affects Affghanistan, because we have for ever evacuated that country; such is not the case: for though we could not, as we proposed (from various unforeseen causes not to be mentioned here,) command a security for traffic through deserts and freebooting tribes, or a consumption whilst none existed, the native merchant has generally been enabled to effect *his* objects, and by payment of the regulated sum for *Budruggar*, or black mail, carry on his transactions comparatively unmolested, and even procure a sale where no one else could effect it. Whilst we were beyond the passes trade lingered, and at last was nearly at an end. The reason is, in a few words, that war and trade are not compatible. Peaceable occupation of a country will carry the point commercially, but not the sword. We must seek here, therefore, to influence what we before tried to command, and which we failed in effecting because our measures, instead of being peaceable, began and ended unfortunately and unexpectedly in war and opposition to every object proposed. Let the Indus be regularly and efficiently navigated by steam, and let this method of receiving his goods imported from Bombay through the port of Karrachi be open to the Sindhian merchant, and the result will at once be, that he will, at Shikarpúr, from the month of October to March be in a posi-

tion to reach Candahar with a cost of time roughly calculated thus: Bombay to Karrachi, by native craft, twelve days; up the Indus to Sukkur, by steam, ten days; across the desert to Candahar, through the Bolan, twenty-five days; say fifty days from Bombay to Candahar—a saving in time, the point to which all others are subservient, of at least one half, and a decrease in risk and expense of the greatest importance; for putting the rate of steam freightage high, as it will in all probability be at starting, it will still be far less than that of camel hire, escort, and other attendant charges of land carriage, (transit duties, under any circumstances, may be considered as open to modification, if not abolition), whilst there is no attendant risk. The Hirat trade may be considered as included in that of Candahar, as it lies through it. Here we get beyond our limits, however; and the subject appears, if attempted intimately, to partake of much of that fiercely speculative spirit which first distinguished our commercial projects in those countries, and which therefore ended as they began. Adhering to facts, and not even to probabilities, the Shikarpúr and Candahar trade is positively and undeniably capable of the expansion and improvement mentioned; and the only means to effect it are by giving the Hindú traders the opportunity of getting their goods by the Indus route, where the river is navigated by steam; and by thus encouraging the interest of this valuable body at their great mart of Shikarpúr. If this be

done there will be a constantly steady, if not increasing, demand on Bombay for new supplies; and the same rule which applies to the north-west will apply to Sindh itself in the course of time, and that not very distant.

Bilúchistan and Kilat merit some attention; for, like the countries beyond, though we have suddenly dissolved our connexion with them, they are not to be considered, it is to be hoped at least, as lost to us for trading purposes: they had this peculiar feature politically different from the others, that the rude chiefs who govern them had every thing to gain from our connexion, and courted it. We could thus have advanced our objects most materially by remaining amongst them as they wished, and have formed on the spot a nucleus for our traffic which would have been of great importance: however, we can now only look to the native trader's unassisted efforts to keep up the communication, and this he will continue to do, though on a footing by no means so promising as where we could have exercised an immediate influence with those so well disposed to acknowledge it. The great influence of Bilúchistan consists in its wool, which it supplies in greater quantity than any other country; an article of first consideration, and to the attainment of which attention has, of late years, been particularly directed. The mountain road from the Jalawán mountains where the staple is produced lies over the Halla mountains, to the sea

coast of Nikran, and is tedious and expensive from the black mail system before alluded to: it should rather be brought to the Indus, at a point near Sindh, where the land carriage would be but trifling, and thus arrive at the port of the country. But the main point of importance here is, that there is at once a secure and valuable return trade. Now Candahar, as far as our markets are concerned, does not immediately supply this desideratum, though the native trader in its drugs, dyes, dried fruits, and other commodities in constant request for Sindhian consumption finds enough for his purposes. The Kilat trade by way of Sommiani was important; and latterly became more so, when we had a British agent to watch and assist it.

Such will be the inevitable result to the Sindhian Candahar trade by the efficient navigation of the Indus; and we are now to proceed higher up that river, northward, and ascertain its effects prospectively in that quarter. Beyond Sindh the first mart of commercial importance is Múltan, situated between the Sútlij and Jilum, in the Lahore territories; and having one of the only three communications (the Bolan, Khyber, and Damán now alluded to) through the mountains to Candahar, and thence to Hirat, and carrying on a very extensive trade to those countries by the agency of the Lohani Affghans, the supplies in British manufactures and metals being conveyed from Calcutta and Bombay by *land carriage*, the former through Lucknow, Delhi, and Bhawulpúr, the latter through Guzirat, Marwar, and

Bikanir. The extent of this traffic to the upper country will be understood when it is stated that in one year upwards of 5000 camels, laden with merchandise, pursued that route from Múltan. The return trade is of the same nature, and at the same period as that to Shikarpúr by the Bolan, consisting of drugs, dyes, dried fruit, horses, &c. If so extensive a commerce exists at this point, when the whole of its supplies are conveyed by land-carriage from the capitals of Bengal and Western India, with the enormous attendant delays and expenses, will it not proportionally increase or receive a great additional impetus if the river Indus be navigated to the merchant's purpose? Bhawulpúr, the whole of the Punjaub, including the great cities of Lahore and Amritsir, are supplied with British merchandize by the same means as Multan, at a cost of time of between two or three months, and the same arguments apply to all. (Independent of these, our position on the Sutlij, or, as it is termed, the North-western Frontier of India, demands a formidable force. There can hardly be less than 20,000 men between the sea and Firozpur: these must be supplied; but beyond Sindh all is by overland communication.) The northern countries in the plain of the Indus, or its tributaries, are at the same time highly productive in valuable and constantly-demanded articles, so that a present return trade is included in all measures for general improvement.

It will be unnecessary to pursue the subject further. The conviction is forced upon the observer, that steam navigation of the river Indus alone will effect any radical change in the commercial prospects of the countries which are approachable by means of that stream; but that with it, the trade, which has hitherto languished, or been confined to certain limits, will expand to an extent likely to prove of value to both the natives and the British government. Thus the accompanying declaration by the highest authority in India has been put forth, and is in process of being acted upon:—"It is intended to maintain on these rivers a sufficient number of steamers adapted to commercial as well as military purposes; but it is expected that in a very short period the merchants of Bombay will find it to their advantage to employ steam-boats of their own to convey British manufactures by the Indus to the south-west frontier, and by the saving of several months in the time now required for their transport, so reduce their price as very materially to extend the demand for them in the north-west provinces and the Punjaub." A further statement shows that it is intended to increase the means of communication between the Sutlij and the Ganges, so that merchandise may be conveyed down that river from the Sutlij, and not up it as heretofore.

This appeal to the merchants of Bombay will doubtless be answered when the navigation of

the Indus shall have been placed on a footing of security, the result of a peaceable policy towards the tribes who command its banks, and without whose concurrence nothing can be done. If such a system be adopted in the first instance, and an efficient steam establishment be employed on the Indus and Sutlij, with the usual measures of protection to the trading community of Sindh, whose energies and perseverance alone require encouragement, commerce will have a fair beginning, and there can be no hesitation in concluding that no very great space of time will elapse ere it progresses rapidly to the advantage of all concerned. These are no hypothetical conclusions, but advanced on grounds of fair reasoning; and so far from seeking to colour the commercial prospects of Sindh and the Indus too highly, it will be seen that the whole are still held to be progressive, and that certain indispensable conditions remain yet to be fulfilled ere even a commencement can be made, much less a result attained; peace and its consequences, security, with an improved condition of the country and its inhabitants, being the principal of the conditions alluded to.

The weights and measures in use in Sindh are based on the *Khirwah*, which is equivalent to about 843 lbs. English dead weight, and for quantity, as for grain, is again divided into "kasahs" and "toyans," the relative value of these being difficult to ascertain, and varying much, according to the description of grain. Liquids are determined by

weight, and the Khirwah then decreases to about 600 lbs. only.

Land is measured by the cubit, gundha, and jurib.

5 cubits (18 inches) . . . . . make 1 gundha.
20 gundhas . . . . 1 jurib.
The jurib being equal to . . . . . 150 feet,
and enclosing a square space of 22,500 feet.

The currency in general circulation is the Company's legalised rupee, known as the *kuldar*. The *sohrab* and *shujavulli* in Upper Sindh: the former 1 per cent. and the latter 2½ less in value than the Company's. In Lower Sindh are the *korah* and *kassani* rupees: the former 25 per cent. less in value, and the latter about half a rupee, than that of the Company's.



PEASANTRY OF SINDH.

CHAP. XV.

First Connection of British with Sindh.—Immunities granted by Ghúllam Shah Kalora.—Connection dissolved.—Commercial Mission, 1799.—Expulsion of British agent.—Mr. Smith's Mission of 1809.—Treaty of 1820.—Force of Observation assembled in 1825.—Mission to Sindh under Col. Pottinger, 1832—Satisfactory Result.—Commercial Treaty of 1834.—Scale of Tolls on Boats.—Lieut. (Sir A.) Burnes' Voyage up the Indus to Lahore.—Permission granted to survey Delta and Sea-coast.—Steamer sent to Hyderabad.—State of Matters with Sindh, politically and commercially, up to 1838.

The connection of the British Indian government with Sindh had its origin in A. D. 1758, when Ghúllam Shah Kalora on the 22d of September of that year granted a perwannah or order, to Mr. Sumption of the Company's service for the establishment of a factory in the Sindhian territories, with a view to the encouragement of trade between the Indian territories and Sindh; and added to this permission certain immunities and exemptions from customs which were in those days considered of great value; and which certainly prove, on the part of the Sindhian ruler an earnest desire to cultivate friendly relations with the British in India. The various officers and customs of revenue throughout the country are directed in these documents to

charge no more than one and a half per cent. duty above the market price on all goods purchased by the British agent for export, and to levy on importations only one half of that paid by other merchants: no officers, farmers, &c. are to demand more; and they (the English) "are to be allowed to carry on their trade unmolested." In case of not disposing of their goods, no duties are to be paid on such as are returned, and all the supplies for the ships to be duty free. And should Mr. Sumption wish to buy or build a house or warehouse at the bunder (port) or at Tattah, the subjects of the country are instructed to give him every assistance, so that the cost may be reasonable; "and he is to have all the encouragement for carrying on his trade, as it will be an advantage to the government; but no other Englishman is to have a house or any encouragement. And as it is necessary I should encourage and please the English, I hereby order an entire compliance may be shown to this, without demanding a new order every year."

Such is the purport of the first document passed to the British by Ghúllam Shah Kalora. Subsequently, on the 11th of December, 1758, a further order was issued by the same prince to the same gentleman, Mr. Robert Sumption, remitting all, unjust duties, but those of export to be paid as usual. A further clause intimates a wish that Mr. Sumption would send some person to choose an eligible spot for the erection of a house or factory

at Shah-Bunder; and it was on condition of his taking up his abode at this latter place, that the remission of duties was granted. A factory was subsequently built at Tattah, and the commerce was confined to the export principally of saltpetre, woollen cloths being imported with the object of supplying the Candahar trade, whence it was supposed to find its way to Persia. On the 22d of April, 1761, Ghúllam Shah issued a further perwannah, or order, on the occasion of the arrival at his court of Mr. Erskine, as resident in Sindh for the affairs of the Company. This document ratifies all former advantages, and excludes all other Europeans but the English from trading with Sindh: the former duties are still to be paid, and particular reference is made to saltpetre, which in those days, when it had not become so general in Bengal, was of great value. Nothing can be stronger than the friendly disposition evinced in this document; and it ends with the following terms:—"Should it happen, (which God forbid) that any of their ships, boats, &c. (English) should run ashore or be wrecked, either on our bars, coasts, or without our rivers, our officers in such places are to assist them; and whatever effects may be saved belonging to such vessels, whether rigging, necessaries belonging to the crew, or other goods, are to be delivered, to the smallest item, to the Resident aforesaid, he paying reasonably for the labour and pains of those who may assist in saving them. Should the afore-

said Resident choose to build a brick house at Shah-Bunder, or make a garden for his recreation on any spot of ground he may like, he is to receive all the assistance possible for doing it quickly; and whatever former demands they have received are to remain in full force, and not to be objected to or disputed on any account. It being our pleasure to satisfy the said Honourable English Company, therefore the above must be strictly observed, and no new perwannahs demanded. Dated the 16th of Ramazan, 1174; or 22d of April, 1761."

This commercial connexion continued uninterrupted until the year 1775, when, during the reign of Sirafraz Khan Kalora, the political excitement and revolutions of Sindh offered so little security to the Company's factory, that it was withdrawn — under what particular circumstances, however, does not appear.

Towards the end of the 18th century, in 1799, the Bombay government appear to have agitated the question of establishing commercial relations with Sindh; and it was deemed in every way highly politic to do so, with the ostensible object of furthering trade, but in reality to counteract the then highly dangerous and spreading influence of Tippú and the French, and to interrupt the growing ambition of Zeman Shah, the Cabul monarch, whose views seemed to threaten the peace of India. The negotiations for this renewal of relations with Sindh were opened with Futteh Allí

Khan, the founder of the Talpúr house, who was then on the Musnud, by Abdúl Hussan, a native agent deputed for that purpose. No difficulty appears to have arisen: Ibrahim Shah (before alluded to), the wazir or prime minister, on the part of his master, granted every preliminary; and Abdúl Hussan instructs the Bombay government to send up a gentleman who will be received with greater consideration than during the time of the Kaloras. He was to bring with him large investments of China ware, metals, and woollen cloths of various colours, to prove that his mission was merely commercial; and every pains was to be taken to prevent any suspicion to the contrary. Abdúl Hussan, in his reports, expatiated on the kindness he received, and described the mission of Ismael Shah, son of Ibrahim Shah, to assist in the required arrangements. The Talpúrs themselves also sent agents to Bombay, to purchase various articles of use or trade; and the government at that place showed every attention to these, in return for the consideration evinced to their agent at the Hyderabad court. Enclosed in Abdúl Hussan's reports were letters from Futteh Allí Khan, the prince, to the governor of Bombay, J. Duncan, Esq., confirming all that had been said by Abdúl Hussan, in these terms:—"Assure yourself, honourable Sir, that I am equally disposed, with yourself, to renew this happy intercourse; and sensible of the advantages my country will derive, I shall

study to give every encouragement to those who pass through, as well as those who like to reside here; and you may despatch one of your agents here with the fullest and most unguarded confidence. The former factory at Tattah shall be delivered over to your agents; and I give you my most solemn assurances that I will increase nothing but my affection towards them." Ibrahim Shah and Ghúllam Alú Talpúr add letters of their own to the Bombay governor; and shortly after Mr. Nathan Crow, of the Bombay civil service, and a highly capable public servant, was selected for the particular and important duty of conducting the mercantile and political interests of the British government with the jealous and newly-formed power of the Tulpúrs, and arrived in Sindh shortly after with full powers to carry on the duties assigned him. The home authorities perfectly concurred in the policy of re-establishing a connexion with Sindh; and Mr. Crow for some time continued at this port, dividing his position between Tattah and Shah Bunder or Karrachi. The commercial advantages were overrated. The native traders of the country were indefatigable in their exertions to interrupt an arrangement which interfered so vitally with their interests. Intrigues of the most annoying kind were continually set on foot, and as frequently baffled by the admirable temper and conduct of the British representative, until, in 1800, when Mr. Crow, after attending at

the Hyderabad court, and reporting to his government the highly satisfactory results of his personal interviews with the princes, who had vouched in the most solemn manner for his being fully sustained against the designs of certain parties who had spread reports to the disadvantage of the British, representing their designs as being of the most dangerous tendency to the Talpúr state, though concealed under the pretence of trade; suddenly received an order to leave Karrachi, and to repair to Tattah, to which place his transactions were to be confined. This order was couched in the most uncivil tone; and directed the governor and guards of the fort to use force in case of any hesitation on the part of the British representative. Mr. Crow being in a position only to obey, proceeded as directed, in the hope, moreover, of still being able to stem the torrent of opposition and intrigue which was setting in so strong against him. His servants were attacked on the road, rudely handled, and nearly all his papers lost. Shortly after his arrival at Tattah he received a further order to leave the country forthwith, ten days being only allowed for that purpose,—with a plain intimation that either personal violence would result from any delay beyond that period, or that the Amirs would not be responsible if it occurred. It being evident that the public interests and honour could no longer be supported, Mr. Crow obeyed the order, which was issued by Ibrahim Shah, who hypocri-

tically enough represented that his influence with Futteh Allí to secure the resident's interests, and to prevent his departure, had become unavailing. The ostensible reason given by the Sindhian court for this violent and unauthorised proceeding was an order from Zeman Shah, the Affghan monarch, but with greater probability may be traced to the result of Tippú's intrigues, coupled with the very strong party in Sindh against the British influence, which was destructive to those of the trading community, an effect which might have been foreseen. The Mahommedan feeling at that period was certainly very strong. The Champion of the Faith, as Tippú styled himself, had roused the cry for Islam against the threatened conquest of India by the infidels, throughout every part of Asia; and the Affghan court, as well as the Sindhian, had acknowledged it; there is every reason to believe, therefore, that this, in the first instance, and the determined opposition of interested parties, conduced to seal the fate of British influence in Sindh. No notice appears to have been taken by the authorities of those days of the outrage committed, even to a slight remonstrance and demand for explanation: new conquests in the south had, it is presumed, satisfied all doubts and fears; and the Sindhian question, commercially or politically, became of minor importance. The arrogance of the Talpúrs, however, rose in proportion; and when, in 1809, it was deemed necessary, for the greater stability

of our Indian empire, and to thwart the designs of Napoleon, to send embassies to Persia, Caubúl, and Sindh, the latter was met by the most inflated pretensions; and had to surmount almost unconquerable difficulties of etiquette and distrust, arising from the very haughty tone assumed by the Sindhian chiefs, the result of our patient endurance of their former insults. The whole of the events connected with this mission, and which are now of additional interest, are graphically given by one who accompanied Mr. Hankey Smith, the British representative* to the Sindhian court, and was present during the whole of the tedious and trying negotiations, which ended in the treaty bearing date 22d August, 1809, between the British government and their highnesses Mirs Ghúllam Allí, Kurrum Allí, and Múrad Allí, (the surviving brothers of Futteh Allí, who died in 1801,) of four articles, and styled a "Treaty of Friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Government of Sindh." The first article provides for eternal friendship between the British government and the amirs above named; the 2d, enmity shall never appear between the two states; 3d, interchange of friendly embassies to continue; and, 4thly, the government of Sindh promises not to allow the establishment of the tribe of French in Sindh. In 1820 Mir Ismael Shah, the Wazir,

* See "Pottinger's Biluchistan."

on the part of the Sindhian government, concluded a treaty with the honourable the governor of Bombay, with a view to guard against the occurrence of frontier disputes, and to strengthen the friendship already subsisting. Kurrum Allí and Múrad Allí here bound themselves to perpetual friendship — to intercourse by means of vakils. The amirs of Sindh engage not to permit foreigners (French or Americans) to settle in Sindh. So long as they conduct themselves peaceably, the subjects of either state may be permitted to settle in the dominions of the other; but in case of their producing disturbance or commotion, such fugitives are to be arrested or punished. The amirs of Sindh engage to restrain the Khosahs, and other predatory tribes and individuals, and to prevent the occurrence of inroads. This treaty was ratified the 10th of February, 1821.

After this, matters rested pretty tranquilly with Sindh until 1825, when the former great annoyance given to our ally, the Rajah of Cutch, and the constant irritation to our frontier from the predatory incursions of the Khosahs and other tribes on the deserts between Sindh and the Guzerat peninsula, induced the assemblage of a British force of 5000 or 6000 men in Cutch as a demonstration, and it had the desired effect — for the cause of complaint was somewhat removed.

In 1832, the commercial and political advantages (but particularly the former), proposed in opening the river Indús to commerce and re-establishing

friendly relations with the Sindh Durbar, attracted the attention of the Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, and a mission was despatched to obtain these objects, as also to add as much as possible to our hitherto scanty knowledge of the river Indus and Sindh. This mission, supported by highly capable officers, was under the general direction of Lieut.-Colonel (now Sir Henry) Pottinger, and was in every way satisfactory in its results. In addition to the treaties obtained, a very accurate survey and report of the Indus was made (by Lieut. del' Hoste), and much valuable information acquired respecting it, and the whole country throughout its lower course. A very friendly and highly favourable impression generally was established; and the British representative concluded the following treaties, which it will be seen refer more particularly to the advancement of commerce than political objects. The only prince mentioned is Mir Múrad Allí Khan Talpúr: both of his brothers, Ghúllam Allí and Kurrum Allí were dead, and he represented the court in its foreign alliances. The first of these documents bears date the 20th April, 1832, of seven articles, signed by Lord Wm. Bentinck at Simlah the 19th June of that year; and provides for the ratification of all the former bonds of amity between the states, and that the same amicable alliance shall descend to the children and successors of Mir Múrad Allí, from generation to generation. The contracting powers bind themselves not to

look with the eyes of covetousness on the possessions of the other. The British government requests a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindostan by the river and roads of Sindh, &c., that they may transport their goods and merchandise from one country to another; and the government of Hyderabad grants this request on the conditions that no description of military stores shall be conveyed by these means; that no armed boats shall ascend or descend the river; and, thirdly, that no English merchants shall be allowed to settle in Sindh, but having transacted their business, shall return to India. On merchants wishing to visit Sindh, they shall obtain a passport from the British government; and intimation of such having been granted shall be made to the Sindhian government by the British representative for their court, residing in the adjoining province of Cutch. That having fixed upon certain proper tolls and duties to be levied on merchandise, the Sindh government is not to depart therefrom, or increase or lessen these duties despotically and arbitrarily, or to cause delays to the merchant by allowing their officers to raise immaterial questions; but having promulgated a fixed scale, that is to be adhered to. That such former treaties and stipulations between the states, as do not become altered or modified by the present one, are to be adhered to; and "by the blessing of God, no deviation from them shall ever happen;" and, lastly, the friendly intercourse be-

tween the states shall be maintained by the despatch of vakils for the transaction of business or the increase of friendship, as may be considered necessary. A supplement to the foregoing alludes to the clause respecting the rates to be promulgated of tolls and duties, as agreed upon between the two states, and bears date two days after the other. It sets forth that the scale of duties shall be a subject of after adjustment, the Sindhian government binding itself to yield to the opinion of the British government, should the scale be fixed too high; that the suppression of the predatory tribes who annoy the British frontier, and who find a shelter in Sindh, is not to be effected by any one government, and that therefore the British, Sindhian, and Joudpúr powers shall simultaneously be put forth to effect this object. The Khyrpúr branch of the Sindhian government provide, in a treaty of its own, that they will coincide in whatever arrangements may be concluded by the Hyderabad chiefs, and that such arrangements shall be equally binding on both. In the year 1834, a treaty called the Commercial was concluded consequent on the previous negotiations, being the terms on which the tolls and tariffs were to be permanently regulated; and it was agreed that in lieu of a duty on goods proceeding up and down the river Indus, a fixed toll of nineteen rupees per khirwah of tonnage on each boat should be levied between the sea and the river point of

Rúpúr, to be divided between the states through which the river flows, in the proportion of eight rupees to the Sindhian chiefs, and eleven rupees to Bhuwel Khan and Rungit Sing. That the fixed rate shall be the above nineteen rupees per khirwah on every boat; and be she of larger or smaller dimensions, she is to be rated at thirty khirwahs; and therefore each boat of whatever size paid two hundred and forty Tattah rupees of the above to the Sindhian government; and said toll was to be levied at the mouth of the river, where the cargoes were transferred from the sea to the river boats. And for the better settlement and adjusting of any differences which may arise, as also to realise the rates to be levied, it was agreed that a British agent (not a European), under the authority of Colonel Pottinger, should reside at the mouth of the river: but the British government is responsible that such agent does not interfere in any way with the fiscal or other officers of Sindh, nor engage in trade; the British representative for the court of Sindh having the power, on any occasion requiring it, of deputing one of his assistants to settle any discussions which may arise: lastly, should, in the course of a boat's passage up or down the river, any of her cargo be landed for sale, the river toll does not exempt said goods from paying the regulated duties of the country, but is merely applicable to merchandise so long as it continued on board the boats in the river.

We now take leave of treaties for a time, it having been necessary to introduce these documents to show the peculiar nature of our negotiations with the Sindhian government, and to prove how decidedly jealous those chiefs were of our obtaining any permanent footing in their territories. Even the commercial objects here set forth were only obtained by intense labour and undeviating patience on the part of the British representative; and to his diplomatic talents and unswerving consistency alone are to be attributed the advantages which prospectively were to result from opening the Indus on a more liberal scale to the merchant than that hitherto pursued. A primary clause was always introduced that no European should reside in the country; and, subsequently, when in 1836 a highly intelligent native agent was stationed on the Indus, the amirs rendered his situation so unpleasant, and so completely defeated his influence, that the trial ended in disappointment, and he was withdrawn.

In the order of time the Voyage of Lieut. (Sir Alexander) Burnes up the Indus in 1830, with presents from the King of England to the Rajah of Lahore, Rungit Sing, should have been previously introduced. A clear statement of the various occurrences connected with that journey is given in the third volume of that lamented officer's travels; and the reports which he there drew up of the Indus, and the countries in and beyond it, appear to have in-

duced the British government to look with increased anxiety to the establishment of a commercial influence in that direction, viewing the opening of the river to the merchant as a primary step. A striking proof of the utterly rude state of the Sindhian court, even at that period, coupled with the usual amount of distrust, was given in the fact that the amirs and all about them considered the large cases conveyed by Lieut. Burnes, which contained the presents, (a carriage, &c.) for Runjit Sing, as actually to contain some mysterious power which was to overturn all opposition, and take the country by force whenever required! The same jealousy and distrust marked the conduct of the Sindhian durbar on that occasion; and it was only after vexatious delays, threatenings, and entreaties, that the expedition was allowed to proceed through the territories and up the river.

Thus, in 1834, the date of the last commercial treaty fixing the tolls to be levied for the navigation of the river, the British government had effected its long-cherished object of binding the Sindhian chiefs, by treaties providing for free intercourse to the merchant through their territories by means of the Indus; and, in lieu of the capricious and arbitrary duties previously levied, confining the same within certain limitations, which, though still very high, were yet preferable to the old and uncertain system of things. Important results were looked for from this step in advance;

and the great road which nature has so obviously provided to the vast countries beyond the Indus was considered to be again opened to the commerce and intercourse of Asia and Europe. Political objects do not appear to have had any place in the views of government at that time; and we stood simply in the relation of friends with the Sindh amirs, they only binding themselves not to admit a foreign power into their territories, and to keep up friendly relations by the interchange of vakils or messengers—a form adopted in the East as expressive of amicable feeling. We had no direct representative at the Sindhian court; but the resident in the neighbouring province of Cutch was empowered to conduct all correspondence between the states, and occupied the position of agent for the Governor-General in the affairs of Sindh.

The commercial prospects on the Indus do not appear to have been so bright as was anticipated from the commercial treaties of 1832 and 1834, in consequence, probably, of the still very high rate of tolls charged, but which were fixed at the lowest to which the chiefs would submit. There appears also to have been a want of confidence and security to the merchant. The upper part of the river beyond the Sindhian territories was much infested by the predatory tribe of Muzaris, who rendered the navigation very unsafe. But from whatever cause it arose, it is certain that the impetus looked for as the result of our negotiation was not given,

and there was little increase to commerce, although Runjit Sing, with his usual energy and spirit, set a favourable example, by despatching a valuable investment of shawls, and other merchandise, from the Punjaúb to Bombay by way of the Indus. In the mean time, still further exertions were made by the British authorities to carry out the object; and in 1835 Colonel Pottinger had succeeded in obtaining, with great difficulty, from the amirs, a still further permission to survey the sea coast of Sindh, and Delta of the Indus. Totally unprepared to acknowledge the expediency of this measure, the Sindhian chiefs, as usual, employed every possible artifice and excuse to defeat it; but the point was at length carried, and a steam-boat, moreover, for the first time, despatched to the celebrated river. This was the private property of a Mogul merchant of Bombay, Aga Mahomed Rahim, whose extensive transactions on the banks of the Indus had induced him to make this decided advance towards its efficient navigation. Lieuts. Carless and Wood, two highly efficient officers, were appointed to survey and report on the whole of the lower course of the river; and during a visit to the Amirs in his way to Cabúl, in 1836, Captain Burnes was requested by them to commission from the government a steamer similar to that belonging to the Mogul merchant,—being the first they had ever seen, though they had previously heard that with the British such things were practicable, though

they doubted it. An Indus steam navigation company was about this period formed in England, and an agent despatched to Bombay to settle preliminaries; but nothing was effected: the want of any security to the merchant, particularly foreigners, beyond the mere promises of the chiefs, was a serious impediment to such an undertaking; yet in this, as in all other things connected with the Indus trade, too much enthusiasm and speculation were evinced at first, and succeeded by total apathy: for, subsequently, when matters were on a more secure footing, and other impediments of various kinds removed, the mercantile community were perfectly inert, and did nothing on a point where they before erred in the opposite extreme.

Runjit Sing having, a short time subsequently to this, showed strong intentions of making a dash at Shikarpúr, as so conveniently situated on his southern frontier, that he could not avoid coveting it as an appropriate addition to the places he had already usurped from Sindh, and annexed to his own dominions; but the British government, on being appealed to by the Amirs, stepped in to prevent this violence, and saved the city from the Maharajah's rapacity.

Up to this period, 1838, the state of affairs in Sindh had but slightly altered the objects so assiduously sought after, of opening the navigation of the river, obtaining every accurate information respecting its peculiarities, in detailed surveys, on

the most elaborate and correct plans (though the nature of the river as before alluded to nullified their practical value), and providing a certain degree of security to the merchant, had been effected by means only of the talents and extraordinary endurance of those who have since proved their value as diplomatists in more weighty matters, still was the jealousy and suspicion of the Sindhian chiefs, as to our real views, but little removed; and the intercourse between the British government and the Amirs was yet marked by doubt and want of faith on the part of the chiefs. The former Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, attached the very highest importance to the navigation of the Indus, and was fully aware of the commercial advantages which it prospectively opened; nor was his successor less alive to these also; every exertion being made by both, to place matters on that secure and liberal footing to the merchant, and induce in the chiefs a feeling of confidence in the integrity of our intentions, as uninfluenced by ambitious motives; which were alike indispensable to the furtherance of the ends proposed. Trade, as before observed, however, by way of the Indus, did not progress; the Amirs, though on friendly terms, were by no means cordial; and matters remained in a torpid state (politically and commercially) until, at the last date, events occurred in Caubúl which gave rise to extensive warlike preparations for the countries

beyond the Indus, and Sindh became unexpectedly involved in those momentous political questions which have been of unparalleled importance, and fraught with fearful interest during the last four years. The new position which Sindh hereafter occupied has now to be described, with the events which immediately led to it.

CHAP. XVI.

Caubúl Campaign of 1838.—Bombay Army lands in Sindh.—Promises of Chiefs to provide Supplies and Carriage.—Evasion of Promises.—Detention of Troops in consequence.—Reserve Force stationed in Sindh.—Conditions imposed on Amirs of Hyderabad.—Treaty with Khyrpúr.—Termination of First Caubúl Campaign.—Conciliatory Measures adopted to Sindh Amirs by British Representatives.—Tranquillity of Sindh.—Outbreak of Kilat Rebellion.—Alteration in Political Control of Sindh.—Intrigues in Khyrpúr Family.—Proposed Transfer of Shikarpúr.—Catastrophe at Caubúl.—Peaceable Demeanour of Sindhian Chiefs.—General Napier assumes Command of Troops in Sindh and Bilúchistan.

The movement of a large force of the Bengal army from the northern provinces towards the Bolan Pass, and through a portion of the Sindhian territories, in the autumn of 1838, was accompanied by the simultaneous dispatch of a body of troops from Bombay, which were to land at the mouths of the Indus, and ascend the river's western bank, until a junction was effected with the main column, and both were then destined to accompany Shah Shújah in his triumphal march to his restored throne of Caubúl. With the events of that campaign we have nothing to do, beyond such as were intimately connected with Sindh and its politics; but as the chiefs of that country became suddenly

involved in the general policy of the north-west, a rapid glance at passing events, which, though distant, still influenced their position, and told immediately on their interests, will occasionally require to be taken, even at the risk of alluding to those topics which, it is feared, have been too much discussed already.

In December of the above year, the whole of the Bombay force under the commander-in-chief of the army, Sir John Keane, landed at the Hujamri mouth of the Delta, where it was detained for nearly twenty days, in consequence of the total want of carriage in camels and boats, attributable to the obstacles thrown in the way of supplying both by the Sindhian durbars. Colonel Pottinger had for some time previous to the arrival of these troops been in actual attendance at Hyderabad, for the purpose of making preliminary arrangements, and securing the necessary supplies from the chiefs. The Amirs had promised all that was required of them; which consisted simply in a safe passage through their territories to our troops, such supplies in grain, cattle, &c. as were requisite, and which their country afforded; a fair rate of remuneration, according to established usages, being paid for every thing used or consumed, and the most satisfactory guarantee that no molestation would be permitted by our troops to the country or its people. Long and intimately acquainted as the Amirs were with Colonel Pottinger, it seems ex-

traordinary, and is only to be accounted for from their childish distrust, that they did not feel fully satisfied, if not with our national good faith, at least with that gentleman's assurances, for they had, in repeated instances, reaped the full benefit of his generous interposition in behalf of their interests, and knew how studiously he adhered on all occasions to the most trifling points of negotiation; yet, in defiance of this, the Hyderabad Amirs commenced with abundant professions of doing all that was required of them (and that was not much), but, incited by their usual system of double-dealing, and the instigations of those about them, ended by throwing such continued, though unseen, obstacles in the way, that our troops were delayed for the period above mentioned, and at a critical moment found that to trust to Sindhian promises was to place the fortunes of the war in the most serious jeopardy. The Kardars throughout the country had strict orders to yield nothing; and at Karrachi where a large quantity of camels were promised to be kept in readiness, they were withheld, and only given up by threats of force. The conduct, in short, of the Sindh durbar on this occasion was flagrantly bad, if viewed after the promises they had so profusely given of friendship and assistance. The truth is, as we shall have occasion to mention, they disliked from the first our making a road through their territories, and only did not deny it at once, when demanded, from the fear of incurring our

displeasure. An open avowal would have been more honest, but the character of the Sindh court rendered it impracticable. It is doubtful if they were instigated by any other power to behave so badly. Shah Shújah was no friend of the Sindh chiefs; and this, coupled with fear and suspicion, appear to have been the principal incentives to the extraordinary conduct pursued.

From this period, therefore, it became absolutely necessary to adopt a different course, and to demand as a right that which was refused as a favour. By extraordinary exertions on the part of individual officers*, carriage and supplies were at length procured. Shir Mahomed of Mirpúr had forcibly detained a large quantity of camels despatched for the use of the army from Cutch, though his misguided opposition was perhaps easier to be dealt with than the false friendship of his brother chiefs, who had not the courage to openly declare hostility, but displayed the meanest shifts to conceal it. Thus with great difficulty the troops reached Tattah, and there, after another prolonged halt of some days, during which various messages passed between the British political authorities and the Amirs, the army was again put in motion. In the mean time the Sindhian chiefs' demeanour had become so hostile, and they had proved themselves so little entitled to any but a decided course of treatment, that a reserve

* Particularly Captain Outram.

force was despatched from Bombay, to be stationed in Sindh, and to form a basis for the troops in advance, by keeping the Amirs in check, and Karrachi was fixed upon as the point of debarkation. Some slight opposition shown to this movement by a Bilúchi guard stationed at Fort Manúra, called for a brisk cannonade from the admiral's ship protecting the landing of the troops, and the place was soon in the possession of the British. The peaceable inhabitants disclaimed all participation in hostilities, and the town was therefore spared. The place was at the disposal of the British government; but it generously refused to take advantage of the opportunity, demanding only a right to locate its troops, and to prosecute its objects of landing military and other supplies duty free. The Bilúchis, moreover, averred, that being directed to hold the fort against us as a point of honour, they felt bound to make a demonstration of so doing, though they found thirty-two pound shot fired from a seventy-four, such unaccountable visiters, that one or two were sent by camels to Hyderabad, as proofs of the utter inutility of attempting to oppose such missiles! A detachment of the Bengal army was at the same time ordered to march down the river on Hyderabad, to cooperate with the Bombay troops, who expected to have to reduce that fort, now strongly garrisoned by a large body of Bilúchis, who were clamorous for war, and were using every means to

drive the Amirs to that ultimatum rather than accede to the terms offered them, as a consequence of their opposition to our reasonable demands, coupled with decided proofs of treachery whilst allied to us as friends. Letters were intercepted to the Persian court, calling for assistance in making the cause one of Islam, and aiding the Amirs to drive us out of their country.

On the 10th of February, 1839, the Bombay army resumed its march beyond Hyderabad. The following stipulations, after the usual quantity of delays and subterfuges, having been at length agreed to by the Amirs.

Here, however, it should be remarked, that throughout the whole period of the British connection with Sindh, the two decidedly obvious justifiable causes for quarrel with its chiefs were the expulsion and violent conduct of the Talpúrs towards Mr. Crow, the British representative, and the events now detailed. In the latter case nothing but the urgent necessity for the onward march of our troops to Caubúl, at a season of the year when every day became of the greatest importance, and the extreme generosity with which the government of India was then disposed to treat them, saved Hyderabad from a siege, the result of which must have been at once fatal to the Amirs as rulers. Their distrust, jealousy, treachery, and false dealing, with a liberal power who met them on all occasions with consideration and forbearance, appear to have then, if ever, merited

punishment; had there been the slightest inclination to inflict it. Mir Sobhdar was the only exception to the general false conduct pursued; and his adherence procured him the exemptions from tribute justly imposed on the others. A proof of the wretchedly distrustful feeling of the Amirs towards us was strikingly elicited on the occasion of a visit to their durbar by the British officers deputed to present the proposed treaty: the sword of one becoming entangled during the conference, he tried to disengage it; whereupon the Amir who was seated opposite, holding his shield before him, disengaged his sword-knot which confined the handle to the sheath, being prepared to resist the violence which he actually imagined a British officer meditated to his person in handling his sword, though the Amir was seated in full durbar, surrounded by hundreds of followers! The stipulations were, first, the payment down of a portion of the sum of twenty-three lacs of rupees (230,000*l.*), to be defrayed to Shah Shújah in commutation of all arrears of tribute due to the Caubúl throne, which, if claimable, would have amounted to double that sum, and a remission of all future payments on the same account. A definite and final treaty of friendship with the British government, of which the latter were the principal stipulations; a revision of all former treaties in consequence of late events; lasting friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Amirs of Hyderabad; a

British force to be stationed in Sindh, to the westward of the river; places to be allowed for its cantonments, and it was not intended to exceed 5000 men; three of the four Amirs (Núr Mahomed, Nasir Khan, and Mir Mahomed) to pay one lac of rupees (10,000*l.*) each annually, in part of the expenses of the British force; Mir Sobhdar (in consequence of his undeviating attachment to the British interests) was exempted from this charge. The British government guarantees the possessions of the Sindh Amirs from all aggressions. The Amirs to rule absolutely in their respective possessions, and the British government to abstain from any interference in their jurisdiction, or listen to or encourage complaints against the Amirs from their own subjects. In case of differences between the four Amirs, the British representative in Sindh shall mediate between them. In case of the subjects of one Amir committing aggressions on the territories of another, assistance shall be rendered to repair or restrain the same, in case of the Amir professing his inability to do so. The Amirs will not enter into negotiation with foreign courts, unless with the sanction of the British government. The British government will co-operate with the Sindh Amirs for the purposes of defence, the latter being in such cases subordinate to the former. The Company's rupee is legalised in the Sindh territories: if the British Government coins money in Sindh of equal value to the currency of the country,

the Amirs shall receive seignory on the same. All tolls on trading boats passing up and down the river within the Sindh territories are abolished; but in case of merchandise being landed from such boats for sale (excepting such as are intended for British troops) shall pay the usual duties of the country. Goods may be landed at the mouths of the Indus, and kept there in bond without payment of duty. This treaty is binding on both parties, and their successors, for ever; all former stipulations not rescinded being in full force.

Ratified by the Right Honourable George Lord Auckland, G. C. B. Governor-General of India, on the 11th of March, 1839.

The guarantee of independence here is a new feature in the position of the Sindhian durbar; for hitherto it was beyond a doubt a tributary to the Caubúl throne, though it had long evaded the acknowledgment, nor had it been demanded. Sindh paid a nominal respect by the despatch of vakils and interchange of messages of friendship to the Barukzye chiefs, as also to the rulers of the Punjaub and Bhawalpúr, but nothing more.

The subject of their game preserves, or Shikargahs, was not introduced in the treaties, but the most formal assurances were given that they should be unmolested; and orders were accordingly issued to our troops and followers throughout the country to prevent any infringement of the same. In

closing this part of the subject, the last treaty but one which has to be alluded to, it should, in justice to the Amirs, be observed, that they did not seek our alliance, though we did theirs; and that any promises or professions which a weaker power may make to a stronger must be held as the result of an influence which does not admit of candid opinion. It is true we asked for little, and as professed friends they could have no just cause to deny our requests; but as possessors of a country, they had as much *right* to refuse us a passage through it as an individual would have to refuse a thoroughfare through his estate: they were open to punishment for breach of promise; but the question may yet arise how far that promise was binding, under the peculiar circumstances of the case. At last they openly declared that they did not want our connection, and that, so far from considering it an advantage, they looked upon us "as a pestilence in the land." This was, in short, their *candid* opinion, when it could no longer be concealed.

A similar treaty to the above, except that payment of subsidy was omitted, was previously concluded with the Khyrpúr Amirs by Sir Alexander Burnes, and the fortress of Bukkur, and right of establishing a force on the opposite bank of the river in Upper Sindh, conceded.

Instigated by the Persian family before alluded to, the Hyderabad Amirs, in the course of a few months, despatched Ismael Shah, then very infirm.

to Simlah, to appeal to the head of government against this treaty ; but the old man was taken ill, and returned only to die. They did not sign the ratified treaty till some months after it had been sent to them for that purpose. Subsequent to this Shir Mahomed of Mirpúr requested, notwithstanding his previous opposition even to hostility, to be admitted to a treaty with the British government, and was allowed, on a payment of half a lac (5000*l.*) yearly, to a participation of the terms granted to the Hyderabad Amirs.

The victorious operations of the British army in Caubúl, ending in the return of a portion to India, at the beginning of 1840, were considered so satisfactory, and promised such future advantages, that the policy of our government was particularly directed to peaceable relations with the Sindhian Amirs, with a view to reconcile them as much as possible to the conditions which their own want of faith and folly had brought upon them, and which, though light, were yet galling, particularly money payments. They were strictly held as independent princes; every possible respect being paid to their rights and prejudices as such. The resident at the court of Hyderabad, Major Outram, (an officer admirably adapted to succeed Sir Henry Pottinger, and equally liberal in his views,) using the most indefatigable exertions to secure all the commercial advantages promised in the opening of the Indus toll-free, and the facilities to trade which

our new position in Sindh so well enabled us to afford; at the same time that every effort was made to smooth the jealousy of the Amirs at our presence, so long contended against, and the suspicions constantly arising in the minds of the chiefs and interested parties about them, that we were only seeking for aggressive excuses, under the cloak of friendly relations. By that talent, patience, and high bearing which particularly distinguished the British representatives at the courts of India, and who have hitherto been selected for such high responsibilities by the discrimination of the great statesmen usually at the head of the Indian executive, these objects, the difficulty of which can be only understood by those who have had the opportunity of experiencing them, were fully obtained. The Amirs and their restless feudatories became gradually convinced of our honour and integrity: they found, the closer they were brought in contact with us, that their rights were held as sacred, and the slightest encroachment, even by our own people, was instantly corrected. A most satisfactory state of tranquillity prevailed throughout the country: our steamers, of which we had a small flotilla, were allowed to navigate the river, not only unimpeded, but with every assistance; the Amirs themselves occasionally enjoying a trip by these novel *Jumptis*, and the merchant or traveller, whether British subject or otherwise, traversed the Sindhian territories unmolested, and with the best feeling from every

quarter, not excepting the Bilúchis, as particularly evinced by our troops. If losses occurred by plunder or theft in the territories of the Amirs, in the property of individuals claiming British protection, such were immediately made good; and, in short, matters were thus progressing admirably, and would eventually have terminated in the realisation of the objects sought for, which were inducing a feeling of confidence in us, and obtaining, by slow but certain steps, a better system of government in Sindh, to which even the Bilúchis would ultimately have acceded, when affairs in the north-west took a sudden, but decidedly hostile, turn; first evinced in the breaking out of a serious rebellion at Kilat, at the end of 1840, and affairs in Sindh became totally subservient to the active warlike preparations immediately necessary to the security of our position beyond it. During the violence of the Brahois of Kilat, which increased rapidly, and ended in the murder of the British officer who placed himself in their power, relying on their good faith, and events which succeeded that rebellion, large bodies of our troops were pushed through the Sindhian territories in every direction without the slightest interruption on the part of the Amirs, who, on the contrary, rendered us all the cordial assistance in their power by furnishing guides and supplies. Had the conduct of these chiefs been otherwise, our interest would have suffered severely; but in justice to them it must be recorded, that

they fully made up on this occasion for their former hollow professions and want of faith; by a cordial co-operation. Up to August, 1841, matters remained in a very untranquil state at Kilat, and beyond the passes generally; but on the settlement of affairs at the former a new arrangement was made, which gave the whole political control of Sindh and the Kilat territories (jointly) to one authority (Major Outram), whose presence could not therefore be fixed at the Hyderabad court; but this did not make any apparent difference in the demeanour of that durbar, which appeared to keep quite aloof from the troubles gradually but perceptibly thickening in the north-west, and remained quiet observers of all that was passing. Restless chiefs of the Brahoi tribes were suspected of holding communications with the Amirs, which had for object the discomfiture of the British; but if such ever took place, they were kept quiet. The Upper Sindh or Khyrpúr family became disturbed with internal dissensions; and intrigues at Mir Rústum's court constantly called for interposition to prevent the old prince's possessions from falling a prey to the parties about him. Mir Alli Múrad, who nearly up to this period had kept at a studied distance from British connection, and remained aloof from all parties, now suddenly adopted another tone, and claimed the interference and good offices of our government to settle the points in dispute between him and his brother Mir Rústum, which principally appertained

to boundaries and possession of lands. The decision was given in the former's favour, and he became at once a very warm adherent, foreseeing that his interests would certainly prosper by such a line of policy. Núr Mahomed, the senior Mir, died in 1841, and the succession of his two sons to their father's possessions and place in the government was arranged without any difficulty, though their uncle, Nasir Khan, but for the presence of the British representative, and the rule which contained all appeals in him, would probably have asserted the old established claim to his not admitting the equal participation in power of his nephews. During the same year, the transfer of the interest of the Hyderabad Amirs in the city of Shikarpúr, and adjoining lands forming the Moghullí district to the British government, was agitated, in consequence of the idle delays in the cash payments of their tribute by the Amirs, giving rise to discussion, and thus opening the door to a breach of amicable feeling, in case of the British government considering itself obliged to demand these payments punctually, according to the letter of the treaty. The shares therefore of the three Amirs at Hyderabad, in the city of Shikarpúr, amounting to two lacs (20,000*l.*), divided between Mir Nasir Khan, and the two sons of the late Núr Mahomed, were to be transferred to the British government, in lieu of an equal amount of the tribute or subsidy, according to value ascertained. This measure was dic-

tated by the kind consideration of the late Governor-General of India, in order to prevent the slightest cause of quarrel with chiefs who he well knew would, by their suspicious, short-sighted views, constantly lay themselves open to be visited for breach of their agreements, if we were in the least degree inclined to insist upon their fulfilment; and was also considered to be highly conducive to a better system of government on the part of the chiefs of the country, by offering an asylum to their oppressed subjects, and thus forcing the durbar, by example, to a more liberal policy. Shikarpúr being, moreover, of the greatest importance commercially, as before explained, and capable of becoming, under our management, of the highest value to the trade of Sindh and countries beyond it. Every preliminary negotiation connected with this measure, which, on suggestion, was cordially seconded by the Amirs themselves, progressed satisfactorily, until towards its period of conclusion they, as usual, took the alarm, and used such subterfuges to evade their promises, that it was not considered advisable to insist upon them, particularly at a time when affairs at Candahar and Caubúl assumed so fearful an aspect as to direct all attention to those quarters, Sindhian matters becoming again completely subservient. The chiefs were left as usual in full possession of all their rights; and beyond the usual delays in the payment of the subsidy, there was no ostensible reason to

complain of their conduct, at a period though, it should be remembered, when, if they had shown hostile feelings they were powerful to do us material injury, if not to have crushed the few troops which the urgent calls for forces above the passes permitted us to keep in Sindh. Yet, beyond the usual petty intrigues which are essential elements of Eastern courts, it is not yet publicly announced that the Amirs of Sindh flew from their engagements at a time, moreover, when all India was anxiously looked to as likely to catch the spark of rebellion, and strike a blow when it was thought we were too weak to ward it off. There seems, indeed, to be every reason for concluding that after the last treaty of 1839 the Amirs had given up all idea of opposing our power, which they contemplated as irresistible; and being in the position of independent princes, with a guarantee for the cessation of all future tribute to the Caubúl throne, they probably began to look upon the amount of subsidy (though they detested cash payments) as trifling compared to the advantages possessed. To the British government it was obviously an enormous additional expense in troops and money, holding a country like Sindh for prospective benefits only. The steam flotilla maintained on the Indus might cost nearly one half of the subsidy alone, and a native regiment in garrison would consume the other half; whereas in Sindh we had seldom less than six, with artillery and a European corps, and con-

stant contingent expenses of all departments, whether civil or military.

The fearful catastrophe of Caubúl at length arrived; and it as well as the subsequent events are too well known to be alluded to. Up to 1842, the affairs of Sindh continued in precisely the same peaceable demeanour as heretofore. The chiefs seemed to have become nearly reconciled to us and our presence, and the country was particularly tranquil, and internally secure from molestation; every necessary precaution being taken by the political subordinates to whom the duty was entrusted of removing every exciting cause as much as possible at a distance from a fiercely bigotted Mahomedan people, who would have been soon incited to make the Affghan cause a common one for their faith alone, to which there can be no doubt they were strongly tempted by every argument used on such occasions by the disaffected, and which to resist amounts almost to apostacy from the true faith. Family discords at both courts, Hyderabad and Khyrpúr, called for occasional interference; and at the latter it became apparent that some decided steps would be required to consolidate the family possessions, and a direct head to be nominated and supported by the British government, or the whole would, at the death of Mir Rústum, have fallen into confusion and anarchy, Alli Múrad at the same time probably sparing no exertion to increase the troubles of his unfortunate elder brother, by

denouncing him for acts of which he was only responsible as the tool of those about him, looking forward to the day when he should obtain his ambitious views, and be made the Chief or Rais of the Khyrpúr branch of the Talpúr family—an event which occurred even sooner than he anticipated.

The Hindú and peaceable class of the Sindhian subjects profited generally, and some of them particularly, from our presence in the country. The large sums expended by our troops, and the constant calls for the supplies of these and the armies in advance for a period of four years, diffused a large amount of capital into the country; and the Amirs themselves shared the profits, in the increased value of their collections in kind, grain being at a high value, proportionate to the constant demand. The Bilúchi influence was, it is true, rather weakened in the guarantee given to their feudal heads, of a power independent of their feudatories; but the Jahgirs, and immunities of the latter being unmolested, they had the main object of their views, and were, like the Amirs themselves, becoming daily more habituated to our position amongst them, though they had long looked upon it as the point of all others fraught with the greatest danger to their interests.

In this state of the country, and its politics generally, the armies withdrew from above the passes, and all further connection with Central Asia ceased. Bilúchistan and Kilat were left with a treaty just

signed, which secured the constant friendship and protection of the British government to the young prince, the son of Mihrab Khan (who, it will be remembered, fell defending his capital against the assault of the British troops in 1839,) and our political and military position was declared to be to the eastward of the Indus, "within the limits which nature had assigned to our Indian empire." A great alteration was at once made in the direction of Sindhian political interests by the appointment of that gallant and distinguished soldier Sir Charles Napier, to the sole authority, military and political, over all the territories of the Lower Indus; and all former arrangements for their administration were superseded, and declared null and void. This event brings us up to the period of October, 1842.



LURIS, OR BILUCHI BARDS.

CHAP. XVII.

News how collected from Indian Durbars. — Withdrawal of Troops from Affghanistan. — Consequent Attention to the Affairs of Sindh. — New Treaty proffered to the Amirs. — British Troops march towards Capitals. — Mir Rústum flies to the Desert. — Major Outram returns to Sindh. — Brings Mir Rústum to General Napier. — Principal Obstacles to Ratification of Treaty. — Extra Demands. — Delay in signing Treaty. — Signed under peculiar Expectations. — British Representative's Life saved. — Attack on the Agency. — Battle of Miani. — Surrender of Amirs. — Capture of Treasure. — Battle of Duppa, and Defeat of Shir Mahomed. — Sindh declared a British Possession. — Amirs arrive as Prisoners at Bombay. — Alli Múrad's Position.

In the East those affairs which are interesting to a whole country are not long kept secret: the native news promulgators and coteries where discussions arise on all such topics are fertile agents for disseminating intelligence; nor is it strange that these parties have generally pretty correct information. In the succeeding narrative of the late important events in Sindh most of the particulars are derived from native authorities on the spot, who were present at the durbars, and knew the feelings of the chiefs, particularly as respects those treaties and conditions proposed to the Amirs which have not yet been put forth as public documents, though their purport is well known, and has been elsewhere

fully discussed. The other events are matters of every-day history, military operations being published in Indian government manifestos, and the stirring incidents connected with them being known to all.

The state of affairs in Sindh up to the last period alluded to (October, 1842,) had appeared to be particularly quiet, and, with trifling exceptions, satisfactory, though it was generally considered by those whose long experience entitled it to respect, that certain alterations would be made in our Sindhian arrangements to secure the greater advantages required in the navigation of the Indus, some modification of transit duties, and other fiscal impediments to trade, as well as the opportunity for commencing the introduction of a better order of government in the country generally, by establishing a closer interference in its affairs. There was also a distant allusion to certain intrigues said to have been carried on by the Amirs inimical to our interest during the Caubúl disasters. However, on the return of the British troops from beyond the Affghan passes, the affairs of Sindh and the whole Indus frontier appear to have attracted the particular attention of government; for certain conditions were soon after proposed to the Amirs, which were unexpected, and to which they could not readily acquiesce. The new treaty thus presented to the Talpúr chiefs, generally including both the Khyrpúr and Hyderabad families, was

considered to have for its leading features as an *ultimatum*, and in supercession of all former arrangements, though why does not yet appear, the cession in perpetuity of the towns of Karrachi, Tattah, Sukkur, Bukkur, and Rorí, with a strip of land on each bank of the river;—the abolition of all tolls and transit duties of every kind throughout the Sindhian territories, and the giving over to the neighbouring chief of Bhawalpúr the whole of the Khyrpúr territory eastward of the river, from Rorí to Subzutkót, including those places, on condition of his also annulling all imposts on trade by the river through his territories. It will be seen that these measures were not calculated to be palatable to the Sindhian chiefs; for independent of the loss of revenue which the cession of such important territories as these must have occasioned, a portion being made over to a foreign and inferior power, the dignity of the whole Bilúch faction was most vitally assailed; whilst a most important point to the Amirs was at length decided against them in the infringement of their game preserves, an immediate result of our taking territory on both banks of the river. The abolition of the transit duties was an inferior question, and would have come in probably with others which it is supposed were to be mooted, for the still further advancement of trade, and other alterations, which were required to improve our relations with Sindh generally, before alluded to.

Little time was permitted the Amirs to discuss the merits of the new propositions; for a body of troops, under the gallant general, Sir Charles Napier, was in the field, and a march on the capitals was intimated, in case of any delay or excuses in signing the treaties previously transmitted to the chiefs for that purpose Major Outram, the late chief political authority, had left the country, pursuant to the arrangements previously noticed, which placed the whole of Sindhian affairs under military control; but in the process of negotiations, the peculiar intricacies of the politics of the country were found to require the presence of an experienced head, and that officer was suddenly recalled from Bombay, and found himself on the 4th of January in the General's camp, seconding his exertions to save the effusion of blood, by bringing the chiefs to submit to the terms imposed, against which there was no appeal but to arms, and to this the Amirs were at that time considered to be preparing. Mir Rústum Khan, of Khyrpúr, with his sons and nephews, had fled from his capital on the advance of the troops, and was said to have entrenched himself in a small fort in the desert, called Imamgur, distant about 100 miles. Thither the General, with a light detachment, consisting of 300 men of her Majesty's 22d foot, mounted on camels. 100 irregular horse and two guns proceeded; but on arrival found the place deserted, though strongly fortified, and if defended,

might have offered a formidable resistance. Of a large supply of gunpowder, 15,000 lbs., part was employed in blowing up the fortifications, and the rest exploded. On the march of this body, Major Outram proceeded alone to the camp of Mir Rústum, who was in the desert, having fled through fear of our intentions, and brought the chief's son and nephew without any difficulty to the General's presence. The great obstacles to the terms imposed on the Khyrpúr branch of the family must here be introduced; and they appear, from various subsequent discussions on the matter, to have been such demands as may be considered extra to the ultimate treaties proposed, and which were considered vitally to infringe the rights not only of the Amirs, but especially of the Bilúchi Jahgirdars and feudatories of Upper Sindh, and such as considered as theirs, unalterably and inalienably, and to which they could not by any arguments be brought to submit, even though the Amirs themselves might have consented. These demands are said to have consisted in making the Mir's younger brother, Alli Múrad, as a reward, it is presumed, for his professed attachment to British interests, at once the *Rais* or head of the family, in supercession of the elder Mir, and apportioning one fourth of the possessions of the whole of the remaining members of the family, seventeen heads of estates, for the maintenance of the new head to be thus established. The very accession of power and property, to which there can be

no doubt Alli Múrad had so long and anxiously looked, the former of which at Mir Rústum's death he might without any difficulty have assumed, as he would in such case have been equally opposed in any attempt to infringe the rights of feudatories. The Jahgirdars of the whole family of Khyrpúr in such an arrangement were of course vitally interested. It deprived them at once, in part if not the whole, of their possessions, as a primary cause of discontent, and, secondly, interfered, as they imagined, with the prescriptive and long-established order of things, in superseding the head of a house, by placing a junior, and at no time a very popular chief, in his place; the previous demands having, it must be remembered, deprived the Khyrpúr family of one third of their possessions. The other arrangements bore as much on the Lower as the Upper Sindh Amirs; and though unexpected, and therefore considered stringent, were yet capable of accommodation, because the chiefs looked to the consideration of the British government, and perhaps imagined that ultimately they might modify some portions of the conditions which were demanded. The interference with their Shikargahs, a point of all others on which they had, it will be seen, laid so much stress, from our first position in the country, was a point of importance principally to the Lower Sindh Amirs, whose territory, particularly on the banks of the river, was thickly studded with their preserves, the destruction of

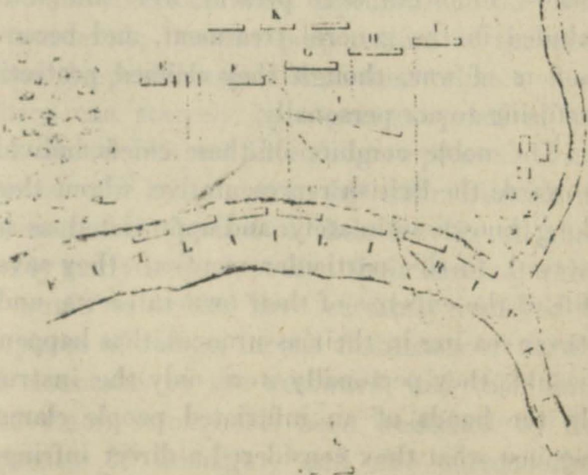
which they could not readily be brought to contemplate. However, it will subsequently appear that these and all other considerations, however unpopular, were waived, and the extra demands on the Upper Sindh Amirs, or rather Bilúchis, was at length the only point of difficulty, which occasioned a war, so much to be deplored in its occasioning so great a loss of human life.

The delay in signing the treaties, and acceding to all the terms proposed, rendered it necessary, pursuant to orders, to make a demonstration on Hyderabad, and for this purpose the troops, consisting only of a small force of 2700 men of all arms, continued their march along the eastern bank of the river towards that capital. It has been said that the chiefs considered it necessary to save their honour with their brethren, that they should appear to be compelled to sign treaties by appealing to the march of our troops to enforce it, and that they never intended to oppose us, but wished to appear to act under compulsion. Be this as it may, Major Outram, escorted only by a small detachment of 100 men of H. M.'s 22d, proceeded to Hyderabad, and on the 8th of February the Amirs of that place subscribed the treaty, those of Khyrpúr on the 12th. Of what occurred at the durbar, the accounts published in the local journals are, there is every reason to believe, pretty accurate, though official despatches may hereafter disclose more. The Amirs of Lower Sindh appear to have been

bound in honour to plead the cause of the Upper Sindh members of their family, who had claimed their hospitality and intercession, having been sent to Hyderabad to await the arrival of Major Outram, and whose Bilúchi feudatories were most violent in their indignation at the extra terms proposed. The later delays in signing the treaties arose from an idea of the chiefs, that, though the British representative could, in executing the difficult and defined negotiations entrusted to him, only assure the chiefs that he was not empowered to make any promises whatever, for he was a mere servant of the state, performing a particular and distinct duty, the chiefs would yet receive some kind of promise from that gentleman, having first acceded to the treaties; that that act of obedience performed, their representations on the subject of the supercession of Mir Rústum's claims would yet have the attention of higher authority, and if found just would be modified or rescinded. No assurances of his utter inability to make such promises appear to have had any effect; and having signed the treaties under this delusion, and yet found that they stood without any promise of redress from the British representative, who had no power to make such, though they entreated for the slightest hint of one to enable them to disperse the Bilúchis, who would listen to no other argument whilst troops were advancing on the capital, the Amirs were no longer their own free agents, and thirty thousand

Bilúchis cried aloud for conflict. It was on the promulgation of the result of their conference with the British representative that the infuriated Bilúchis determined to murder him and those who accompanied him on their return from the Hyderabad durbar; and the lives of these gentlemen were saved only by the Amirs themselves directing a strong escort of the noblemen of their court and their own followers to provide for the safety of the party as far as the British residency. On the same day, a formal deputation, and subsequently up to the 14th, repeated messages were sent by the Amirs to the British representative, entreating him to give them the means of dispersing their intractable followers by a slight promise, or failing it, to provide for the safety of himself and party, as they could not prevent the Bilúchis from attacking him. Of course no promise could be given, though the British representative still deferred to depart, as his doing so would close the door against accommodation, and at once bring on hostilities, which he was most anxious to avoid. At the latter date confidential servants were sent from the chiefs individually to warn Major Outram of his danger in delaying his departure, as they would be forced by their followers to accompany them in an attack on the agency. On the 15th this event took place. The published official document, describing the brilliant defence of the agency, an enclosed building on the eastern bank of the river, by the British repre-

sentative and his small band, against immense odds, will be found elsewhere. Major Outram not being reinforced, and having performed all the task assigned him, effected an honourable retreat, and rejoined the force under Sir Charles Napier; and on the 17th of February, the General, who by this time had arrived near the capital, finding the Amirs of Sindh posted at Miani, six miles from Hyderabad, in the dry bed of the Fullali branch of the river, and in numbers about twenty-seven thousand men, with fifteen pieces of artillery, resolved to attack them, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers of nearly ten to one, and a position of such strength and difficulty, that only British troops, headed by such a soldier as Sir Charles Napier, could have



ROUGH SKETCH OF OPPOSING FORCES AT THE BATTLE OF MIANI.

A Enemy's Camp.
B Shikargahs.
C Enemy's main Force.
D Village.
E British Artillery.
F H. M.'s 22d.
G 25th Reg. N. I.
H 12th Reg. N. I.
I 1st Reg. N. I.
K 9th Bengal Light Cavalry.
L Sindh Horse.

ventured to assail it. It would be the height of presumption to attempt any description of this action beyond the admirable official despatch of the General*; and it only remains to observe, that since Clive's glorious victory at Plassey there has been nothing achieved by native or European troops in India at all to compare to it.

Subsequent to the action, the leading Amirs of Khyrpúr and Hyderabad surrendered unconditionally as prisoners of war, and the fort of Hyderabad was taken possession of by the British troops. In it were found all the treasures in specie and jewels of the Amirs, said variously to amount to about a million sterling. The Amirs, Mir Mahomed and Mir Sobhdar, who were not in action, but whose followers were present, were afterwards included in the general treatment, and became prisoners of war, though they claimed protection as refusing to act personally.

The noble conduct of these chiefs individually towards the British representative, whom they had long known intimately, and appreciated as he deserved, merits particular mention: they saved his life at the expense of their own interests, and were never ceasing in their assurances, that happen what would, they personally were only the instruments in the hands of an infuriated people clamouring against what they considered a direct infringement of their sacred rights.

* See Appendix.

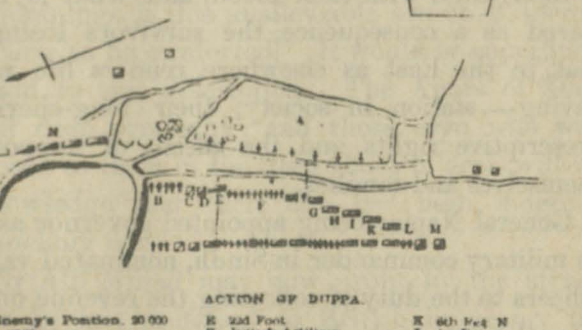
In other parts of the country attacks were made on small parties of our detached troops, but in every case were bravely repulsed. The unflinching courage of a small party of the 15th regiment, N. I., under a native officer, deserves to be noticed. Finding it impossible to sustain their position on the bank of the river against the large bodies of the enemy, the sepoys betook themselves to a boat, and thus for three days sustained the continued attacks of the enemy in a narrow channel, making their way as tide and wind permitted, until the whole reached camp in safety, without the loss of a man, but inflicting severe punishment on the Bilúchis. The native officer, for his noble conduct, was deservedly promoted. A European officer and a Parsi merchant were captured on the river, and murdered; but the perpetrators of the deed suffered the punishment due to their crime.

There can scarcely be a greater proof of the Amirs themselves not intending to proceed to extremities, and being driven by their Bilúchis to opposition, than the fact of their leaving all their property at Hyderabad, as also their families, which they would otherwise have certainly removed to their places of refuge, in the fastnesses of the Bilúchi mountains to the westward, had their faith in the desert strongholds been weakened by the destruction of Imamgur, and also surrendering themselves to the British General the moment their troops were defeated.

War being now declared in Sindh, the British detachment which had achieved the overthrow of the Amirs' forces was yet too weak to hold the city and fort of Hyderabad, and also to sustain the whole force of the country, which would be directed against its position at the capital; a reinforcement was consequently called for from the troops stationed in the upper country at Sukkur; and on the 3d of March a regiment of native cavalry, one of native infantry, and a troop of European horse artillery, marched by the eastern bank of the river towards Hyderabad, which the force reached on the 22d of that month, after having checked an attack made by the enemy at a place called Mattari. A junction being thus formed with the General, he determined to pursue the enemy, who were reported to be in great numbers in his neighbourhood, under the command of Shir Mahomed of Mirpúr, a branch of the Talpúr family previously noticed. Having at length fixed upon a formidable position at a village called Duppa, near the Fallāli, Sir Charles Napier gave the reinforcing detachment one day's rest, and then informed his troops that the next day, the 24th of March, he should go in quest of the enemy, and attack him wherever he found him.* This was at the place above named, where 20,000 Bilúchis were in position behind two deep trenches, consisting of a larger and smaller watercourse, running at nearly right angles from the river (Fallāli),

* For further particulars, see Appendix.

which supported and defended the enemy's right, with eleven guns. The British force amounted to about 5000 men, of all arms; and, after a desperate engagement — the particulars of which are given in the General's despatch — the enemy was completely defeated, with great loss, and their leader, Shir Mahomed, fled to the desert. The forts of



ACTION OF DUPPA.

A Enemy's Position, 20,000 men
B British Artillery.
C Poonah Horse.
D 9th Bengal Cavalry
E 22d Foot
F British Artillery.
G 25th Reg. N. I.
H 21st Reg. N. I.
I 12th Reg. N. I.
K 8th Reg. N.
L 1st Reg. N.
M Horse and 3d Cavalry
N Position after Action

Omarkót and Mirpúr were afterwards taken possession of by our troops without resistance; and thus, in two decisive and fiercely-contested actions, wherein the Amirs of Sindh were supported by their greatest military strength, a complete victory crowned the British arms, though with considerable loss in men and officers. The behaviour of the General and his gallant bands on these occasions has excited the admiration of all; and a sterling proof has been elicited of the unflinching constancy

and gallantry of the native troops of India, if ably led and stimulated by example. Whilst paying this passing tribute to the bravery of our own forces, let us not omit the notice due to the devotion and gallantry of the "brave Bilúchis," as Sir Charles Napier generously and honourably calls them. The proofs can no longer be wanting that they fought as men fighting for interests dearer to them than life; those who fell sealing their devotion to their chiefs with their blood, and, what is to be feared as a consequence, the survivors losing all that, in the East as elsewhere, renders life worth having — station in society, their long-cherished prescriptive rights, and the means of supporting themselves and families.

General Napier being appointed governor as well as military commander in Sindh, nominated various officers to the duty of collecting the revenue on and after the date of the battle of Miani, up to which arrears were not to be demanded; and Sindh, after the last engagement, was declared a "conquered country," and annexed to the British India possessions as such.

The fallen Amirs of Sindh, consisting of Mirs Nasir Khan, and his nephews, Mirs Shadad Khan and Hussein Allí Khan, Mir Mahomed, and Sobhdar, of Hyderabad, and Mirs Rústum Khan, and his nephews, Nasir Khan, and Wulli Mahomed Khan of Khyrpúr, with others, arrived at Bombay in her Majesty's sloop of war Nimrod, on the 19th

of April, and every consideration was shown to their altered fortunes, by the honourable governor and other authorities, one of the governor's residences being appropriated to their reception. A local journal describes their condition thus:—"The Amirs, being prisoners of state, are retained in strict seclusion; they are described as broken-hearted and miserable men, maintaining much of the dignity of fallen greatness, and without any querulous or angry complainings at this unalleviable source of sorrow, refusing to be comforted." It would be superfluous to add to this description. The Amirs of Sindh merit deep sympathy; and those even who were opposed to them in the stern shock of arms will yet acknowledge that their fate has been indeed a melancholy one.

Mir Allí Múrad may now profit by the attachment he has professed to British interests; but whether his own will long remain flourishing, or his adherence prove sincere, remains to be seen.

CHAP. XVIII.

Remarks on the newly created Interest in Sindh.—Character of Government.—Reason of our First Connection with Sindh. — The Difficulties that attended our early Negotiation with the Amirs.—Settlement of a British Agent in Sindh.—Settlement of a British Minister, and Abolishment of Imposts.—Proposed Cession of Shikarpúr.—Desired Advance of Commercial Interest.—The real Position of the Population under the Government of the Amirs.—Probable Feelings excited among the Bilúchis.—Results likely to follow late Events.—Physical Difficulties connected with the Military Occupation of Sindh.—Position of Mir Allí Múrad.—General Observations.

The late events which have occurred, to change altogether the aspect of affairs in Sindh, possess for the public generally a degree of interest which induces a retrospect of the past government of the country and its effects, as a means of being able to form something like a correct judgment of what will in all probability follow in due course upon the acts that have now taken place, and the position in which we as conquerors are placed.

Among the exciting interests which until a late period occupied public attention as connected with our position in, and withdrawal from, Affghanistan, Sindh was remembered only as a sort of depôt for the *materiel* of war, a base, as it were, for our military operations in advance. Since this time,

however, its aspect has widely altered: our grasp has been laid upon its rulers, and its warriors and its people have nominally become subjugated to British power; it will therefore be interesting to inquire what is likely to be the feelings now created.

The government of Sindh was of course a perfectly despotic one, no subject, of whatever rank or calling, daring to assume a right, in opposition to the supreme will of their rulers, the Amirs; and the result of this condition was, of course, impoverishment to the territory, misery to the poor, favouritism towards the unworthy, with ignorance, fear, and oppression to all. If an artisan worked cunningly and well, his labour was seized, by order of an admiring prince; if a banker amassed wealth, it was speedily found that the royal coffers were becoming low, and the man of wealth was commanded to replenish them. If the farmer's lands were fruitful, he was compelled to support the military retainers of the court; and thus was every species of energy crushed by the selfish and short-sighted character of the government. But Sindh differed little in this from all others, governed, as all semi-barbarous countries are, by despotism; and many of the evils under which the people laboured were as much the effects of their geographical position, and vicinity to the desert, as to the oppressions of the Amirs. From this remark it must be clearly understood that the idea intended to be

given is simply, that although exaction was common, the best interests of commerce neglected, Sindhian artisans oppressed to pay for the wares of the foreign merchant, and agriculture sacrificed to sport, yet that the government of the Amirs of Sindh was not in these respects worse than might be expected from their limited views; while in many respects there was a total absence of the fierce, violent, and brutal cruelty often exercised by the despot princes of the East, whether Mohamedan or Hindú. It must be also observed, that in the condition of semi-barbarous ignorance in which the Sindhian population is, acts which to a civilised and enlightened people, existing under a free government, would appear oppressive and terrible to the last degree, had no such terrors for the subjects trained and enured (they and their fathers) to a despotic rule; while among feudal systems, in all countries, as in Sindh, a warm attachment is ever found to exist between the serf and his lord, between the military retainer and his prince; a link which, though sometimes felt to be an iron one, would gall more in the breaking than in the wearing, a fact which association and habit can scarcely fail to produce. A free people suddenly cursed with a change of masters, and the oppressions of a conqueror, as the Hindús were, by the violence of the Moslems, cannot be insensible to the tyranny so exercised; but a people accustomed from generation to generation to the same system

are easily reconciled to those instances of harshness which at particular periods press somewhat heavily on either their interests or their tranquillity.

The prominent feature which first produced in the Indian government a desire to cultivate the alliance of the Amirs of Sindh was the value of the river Indus for the purposes of commerce, in connection with the Sutlij; and, therefore, when the first treaty with the Amirs of Sindh was ratified, in 1809, a friendly feeling was also sought to be established with the ruler of Bhawulpúr, as a means of throwing open the rivers to the merchants of Central Asia and of Hindostan. We advanced but slowly, however; and the first point gained was rather a negative than a positive good, the pith of the treaties made (which has been fully shown in its proper place) being, "that the government of Sindh should not allow the settlement of the tribe of the French within their country;" while in 1820 mutual intercourse between the rulers of Sindh and the British government, by means of vakils, was decided on, and the prohibition against the French now extended to Europeans generally, and to our enterprising brethren beyond the Atlantic. Two years from this period, and the *great* point — the general freedom of the Indus navigation — was mooted, and the Amirs agreed to allow the merchants of Hindostan to transport their goods by the river, under the condition that no armed vessels

or boats should come by that route, neither military stores of any description; and that all merchants should pass on, and in no wise attempt to settle, or even tarry in the country; all such persons being obliged by the terms of the treaty to obtain passports from the contracting parties, those of the right bank of the Sutlij obtaining them from the agents of the Punjaub government, and others requiring them on the left bank, and Hindostan, from the agents of the Honourable Company.

The anxious, jealous fears of the Amirs of Sindh, however, still opposed general communication with their country; and it was not until 1835 that they could be persuaded to allow an assistant of the Governor-General's agent to reside at any of their ports; and the stipulation even then made was, that this officer should not be an European.

The Syud Azim-ú-Deen Hassan, a native gentleman of considerable talent, was then, by the order of Lord William Bentinck, settled at the mouths of the Indus at Vikkur; at which post he complained much of the conduct of the Amirs, the intrigues of their ministers, the rudeness of their subjects, and the uselessness of his presence, in consequence of the small number of boats which made the harbour; the fact being that the toll levied on all boats laden with merchandise in transit on the rivers Indus and Sutlij was so great, that it amounted nearly to a prohibition.

Such was long our position with these jealous,

semi-barbarous chiefs of Sindh. Their country was, as it were, tabooed against us; and unless on the occasion of a commercial or political mission, or when the court was visited by an officer deputed to give medical aid to the Amirs, Sindh remained a *terra incognita*, with all her natural advantages, wasting under the rule of chiefs whose pleasure-boats and hunting forests formed their noblest pursuits. At length, however, a treaty was concluded, which laid the foundation of improvement both to Sindh itself and to the extension of its commerce with the countries of the north-west; an accredited British minister was permitted to reside at Hyderabad, and, without opposition, the Bombay army, its troops and *materiel*, passed up the Indus. All imposts were abolished on merchandise in transit by the river; and from Attok to the sea, boats of any cargo passed free from levies and imposts of every description.

Such is a very brief sketch of the difficulties which attended our early position as affected Sindh. By the temper and judgment of Sir Henry Pottinger, however, they were met and eventually overcome; but the object of the alliance was always understood to be a commercial one, and in no way glancing at territorial acquisition. Requiring Sindh as a high way for our troops, application was made to the Amirs to allow our armies to pass on by the river Indus to the scene of operations in Affghanistan; but even while our troops were so employed

the primary view, as affected Sindh, was still regarded, and the question arose as to the immense value of Shikarpúr in possession as a commercial mart, with reference to the allowance made by the Amirs for the subsidiary force placed in their country. In lieu of their annual tribute, it was proposed that the Amirs should cede to us the fertile district of Shikarpúr, in Upper Sindh, with the fiscal revenues of the city; a spot which had long been a subject of discussion between the Dúrani monarchs of Caubúl and the Amirs of Sindh, in consequence of its value as a mart between the river Indus and the countries of central Asia.

Our original object having been, therefore, the advance of commercial interests in Sindh, and our endeavours to this end having been for a time partially checked by the disasters in Caubúl, and the necessity of repairing them by military means, and this necessity being ended, which placed Sindh in its original position with reference to ourselves, it remains, in taking a view of recent events, to draw our conclusions on how far they are calculated to produce the advantages so earnestly desired; and to do this, it is necessary briefly to review the character and impulses of those who form the population of Sindh, as well as that of its rulers.

It has been remarked, that, oppressive as it was in many instances, habit had yet reconciled the people of Sindh to the rule of the Amirs; although, when the good which would arise from our

purer management in the farming of the district of Shikarpúr was represented to many of the landholders, they appeared to appreciate it, and to desire the change; but this may have arisen as much from the idea of our affording them military protection against the plundering Bilúchis, as from any other cause. Again, the oppressions upon the Hindú merchants, traders, and bankers, have been noticed, with the sacrifice of native artisans to the taste for foreign manufactures; but it must be remarked that these naturalised Hindús are so accustomed to pay tribute, that they calculate the expected levy of the Mahommedan princes as a sort of income tax, to be annually allowed for in their debtor and creditor account, while, as no power beyond that of their own wills constrained them to remain under the government of the Amirs, but, on the contrary, they might emigrate to Cutch, Múltan, or Bhawulpúr, whenever they pleased,—countries near at hand, and where they would be free from these supposed evils, it is fair to conclude that, altogether, the Hindús of Sindh found their account in remaining where they were, and aiding to the replenishment of the Amirs' coffers whenever it was required. Again, it is not uncommon for the great of all countries to despise native manufactures, and set an undue value upon the produce of foreign art, and, consequently, when the Amirs of Sindh prefer Bokhara scarfs to Tattah lúnghís, and Cashmere shawls to Sindhian cum-

lies, they but share a taste not peculiar to them as semi-barbarous princes, deficient in a desire for the improvement of native talent, but common to the wealthy of countries in the highest state of civilisation.

One of the sources of misery and evil caused to portions of Sindh during the rule of the Amirs arose from the frequent forays made upon its most fertile portions by the Bilúchis, bold and daring tribes of the hills and plains of Catchi; but even these forays and their effects were confined to the portions of the country lying on the borders of Bilúchistan, while the interior, or plains of Sindh, were generally free from molestation or plunder of any kind, and this without any organized system of police; proving the Sindhian methods of checking irregularities to be on the whole well adapted to the country.

The general evil of the Amirs' government, therefore, was its torpor, which neither induced the improvement of the agricultural character of the country, nor the best interests of commerce, by means of the river Indus; grievous tolls and unfair imposts upon all goods in transit to and from the countries of the N. W. to the presidency of Western India being levied on the inland trade. Acknowledging these evils, the difficulty arose of how to meet them, and our steps have been to replace the political establishment which existed during our term of friendly alliance with

the Amirs with a military force; to make the princes our prisoners in Bombay; to put to flight, and declare as outlaws, such of the Bilúchi leaders as escaped, and to take possession of the country of Sindh.

The Bilúchis are a fierce, warlike people, strongly attached by all the feelings of clanship, and connected by religion, intermarriage, and other sources of general union. Having been the means of urging the Amirs of Sindh to resist our views, will they not feel bound to support the cause of their fallen head? and it must be remembered, that although the chiefs themselves are prisoners in the hands of the British government, their numerous sons, brothers, and immediate followers, are yet in a position of freedom, excited by the most violent passions, and ready for every species of revenge. Among the Bilúchis, it must be also remembered, that there are no elements similar to those which in India have removed so many difficulties to our peaceful occupation of the country. With the Bilúchi tribes there is no hope of dismemberment of object taking place, arising from a difference of religion, questions of caste, and a mixed population of Hindús, Moslems, and native Christians. The Bilúchi chiefs, warriors, and retainers, individuals and tribes, those of the mountains and those of the plains, are unanimous. Fanaticism fans the flame, and every Moslem, urged by his own feelings of clanship, and natural fierceness of disposition, to

deeds of blood, believes that he acts in conformance to the ordinances of the Koran when he supports the government of true believers, and draws his sword against the strange infidels, who are enemies to the faith of Islam. The descendants and followers of the Amirs of Sindh, who, after the battle of Miani fled to the hills—the Bilúchi chiefs who constrained them to take arms against the British—the princes who mourn their father's loss,—all these will bind themselves to revenge upon their conquerors; and, as long as one of them remains to wield a sword, will he not do so for his chiefs and for his prophet?

The country of Sindh is at every point open to incursions from the mountains, or the deserts: the shores of the Indus, its sand-banks, and its forests will cover bands of these warriors whenever they may meditate attack; and with the long grass and tamarisk the Sindhians now use to thatch their huts breast-works may be thrown up as secure and murderous in their shelter as were the stockades of the Burmese. If, then, the object is to throw open the commerce of the river Indus to all nations, it is difficult to see how this can ever be available, unless security can also be given to the persons and properties of the merchant; or in such a stream as the Indus, where the native boatmen dare not navigate after sunset, and where the craft is secured close to shore during the night, any safety can be felt, when every forest may be infested with

Bilúchi warriors, vowed to carry on a harassing guerilla warfare.

Before our troops made their first campaign into Affghanistan, the merchants of Bokhara, Hirat, Caubúl, and Candahar, brought down to Sindh by the pass of the Bolan and the plains of Cutch kafilas laden with rich goods of all denominations; and their safety of person and merchandise was secured by the payment of a species of black mail to the chiefs of the tribes who held these deserts and mountains in possession: a child might then lead the camels, and not a Bilúch would attempt to molest them; but after our entrance to the country these passes, filled with wild and desperate men, were no longer safe for the peaceful merchant; commerce was stopped, kafilas were robbed, and their owners murdered. The passes were thronged with warriors, and bloodshed and violence made the land a scene of unmixed evil. As it was upon the plains and mountains, so may it now be on the river; and the terrors of the merchant may do more to oppose the free commerce of the Indus than even the vexatious imposts of the Amirs; while a similar evil may extend also to the agriculturists, who will fear the descent of the Bilúchi bands upon their fields, now that the exiled chiefs are thirsting for revenge on all who sought our protection, far more than they did the billeting of the Amirs' followers, when the crops were ripe for harvest.

These appear to be the threatened dangers of

our position in Sindh; and the remedy may possibly be looked for in the protection afforded by a large military force; but this also has evils in Sindh, and of a nature not to be overlooked.

The physical difficulties that Sindh presents to its becoming a station for the continued position of our troops are — Excessive heat in the upper portions of the country, and in the lower, exhalations causing malaria as a productive source of fatal fever. For three months in the year communication between Sindh and Bombay is cut off, in consequence of the dangerous character of the surf and breakers along the coast during the south-west monsoon; therefore the immediate change which is required to save life, when threatened by violent attacks of fever, not being procurable, the sacrifice of existence would be consequently fearful. Without reference to the hitherto unsatisfactory climate of Karrachi, this last station is yet considered the only healthy one for European troops; beside this, there is none other which medical men allow to be at all calculated for their occupation; while the sepoys suffer equally, in all places except Sukkur, where the clearness of the atmosphere conduces much to health. Unfortunately, the points most likely to lie under the attacks of the Bilúchis are those most liable to unwholesome influenees: these are Tattah, Hyderabad, Sehwun, and the intermediate points, where, in the hot season, troops could not be exposed

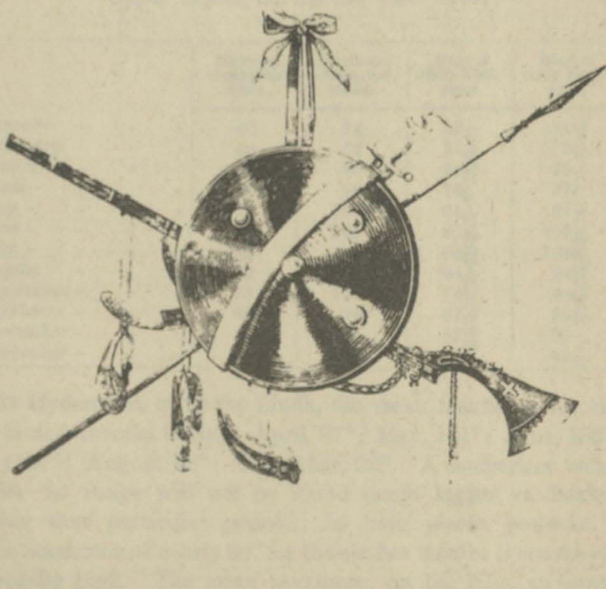
to service without certain sacrifice. The Bilúchis are quite aware of this, and would, no doubt, select this season for attack, knowing full well that neither could the troops, sepoy or European, be exposed to the powerful sun, nor dangerous malarias of Sindh; nor could reinforcements be sent to repair any ravages that sickness or death might make. Again, supposing it necessary to keep in Sindh a large military force in constant equipment for service, the camp followers would, of course, be limited, and the sepoys could never be induced to serve cheerfully for any length of time in a country to which they were unable to bring their wives and families. The sufferings and hardships of various kinds that the troops would undergo, in a country held only by the sword, against the perpetual inroads and harassing attacks of Bilúchi soldiery would dishearten them at length, and render the service unpopular; at the same time that the loss of life would draw heavily upon the service, and take from India more than could be well afforded. The great origin of the late excitement among the Bilúchi chiefs — for it is to them, and not to the Amirs, that we must look for the cause of the war — appears to have been the strong feeling created against us by the ceding certain privileges from Mir Rústum, the chief of Khyrpúr, to his brother, Mir Allí Múrad of Diji; an act which affected, in a greater or le[ss] degree, the rights and possessions of all the Bilú[chi] and Sindhian nobles. At present Mir Allí Mú[rad]

is considered our grateful friend and warm ally; but as soon as he finds that our interests and his clash, which they must do, and his people and ours find cause for disagreement, or discovering that his expectations are not verified: becomes a doubtful ally or avowed enemy; Mir Allí Múrad will probably be reduced to the same position as that now occupied by the princes of Hyderabad.

The previous remarks lead, as will be seen, to the following conclusion, that in displacing the Talpúr government of Sindh we bring upon ourselves the necessity of a military occupation of the country for an indefinite period; and that instead of the result being an improvement of commerce and agriculture, with the general capabilities of the country, which are essentially the produce of peace, our expenses will be fearfully increased, our troops demoralised, and our position one of unmixed difficulty.

As all this will doubtless have been foreseen, from the long experience we have had of Sindh, with the countries on its borders, it may be anticipated, perhaps, that, having taught the Bilúchi chiefs, and their nominal head, the utter hopelessness of opposing our power, we may be able to afford the restoration of the princes of Sindh, constraining them to correct the abuses of their government, and to adopt all the means that we may dictate for the improvement of their country, and the civilisation of its people, controlling the chiefs,

who will then find their best interests consist in preserving peace and establishing marts on the Indus, which will foster and advance all the best interests of commerce, this having been from the beginning our ostensible motive for desiring power and influence in the country of Sindh.



APPENDIX.

CHAP. I. Page 14.

Thermometrical Ranges for Twelve Months at Sukkur, in Upper Sindh, during the Year 1841.

	Minimum during the Month.	Maximum during the Month.	Mean of daily Minimum.	Mean of daily Maximum.
January - - -	40	74	$63\frac{1}{31}$	$69\frac{12}{31}$
February - - -	44	82	$53\frac{18}{28}$	$75\frac{9}{28}$
March - - -	51	90	$64\frac{13}{31}$	$79\frac{1}{31}$
April - - -	72	98	$76\frac{3}{5}$	$87\frac{2}{5}$
May - - - -	72	100	$81\frac{1}{31}$	$97\frac{24}{31}$
June - - - -	82	108	$85\frac{17}{30}$	$103\frac{14}{30}$
July - - - -	82	107	$85\frac{26}{31}$	$102\frac{24}{31}$
August - - -	79	104	$84\frac{5}{31}$	$99\frac{22}{31}$
September - - -	73	100	$74\frac{14}{30}$	$90\frac{17}{30}$
October - - -	59	94	$67\frac{19}{31}$	$89\frac{19}{31}$
November - - -	48	91	$57\frac{17}{30}$	80
December - - -	42	74	$47\frac{21}{31}$	$69\frac{1}{31}$

At Hyderabad, in Lower Sindh, the mean maximum for the six hottest months is thus: April, 97°; May, 101°; June, 103°; July, 97°; August, 98°; September, 95°. A comparison being made, the range will not be found much higher at Sukkur during that particular period. In both places, however, a mean maximum of nearly 99° for the six hot months is considered unusually high. The mean maximum on the Nile, at Grand Cairo, is 87½°.

CHAP. II. Page 38.

The distance from Shikurpúr to Candahar, as given by the latest authorities, is nearly 350 English miles.

CHAP. IV. Page 69.

In the towns of Shikarpúr and Karrachi, the population has a majority of Hindús; that of Karrachi, according to a late report by Captain S. Hart, of the Bombay army, is nearly 14,000, of whom 9000 are Hindús.

CHAP. IV. Page 73.

As a late order by the Governor-General of India, consequent on the conquest of Sindh, abolishes slavery throughout the whole territory, the following additional information on the condition of slaves, kindly furnished by the author's friend and brother officer, Captain S. Hart, in his detailed reports on the town of Karrachi, may be considered interesting:—

"Muscat is the port from which slaves are all brought to Karrachi, and hence sent up the country for sale: they are divided into two classes, the Seedhees, or Africans, and the Habshees, or Abyssinians. Sometimes a Georgian is brought down, but only on a private order; their price being too high to admit of speculation being made on them. The Seedhees are mostly all children when imported, grown up persons being considered more likely to run away. Their price at Muscat varies from fifteen to thirty dollars, according to their strength and appearance. The slave merchants tell me that boats are sent from the port down the coast of Africa with cargoes of coarse cloth and dates; that they visit certain places where the children are collected in expectation of their arrival. One of the crew is sent on shore, and he places on the beach the quantity of goods he considers equivalent to the value of a slave. If thought sufficient, a child is brought to him and the package taken away, and so on until they have obtained the number they require. Girls are brought in greater numbers than boys, and both are sold here at from sixty to one hundred rupees each: the latter are said to be extremely intelligent at learning any trade, and the fishermen, who own a good many, state that they make active and bold sailors. From six to seven hundred is the number annually imported, of which about three fourths are girls. The Habshee females are generally purchased at a

more mature age, as mistresses for men of rank. The features of those I have seen were good, but their complexions rather dark, or inclining to a copper colour. Perhaps thirty or forty may be landed in each year; but, as their price is high, (from 170 to 250 rupees, according to their good looks,) and their health rather delicate, few like to lay out money on them. The price of the Habshee lads is upwards of a hundred rupees; but they are seldom for sale, as they are not brought down unless on a commission from some great man, who wishes to bring them up in his family: only three or four arrived during the past year. It is the interest of a master to treat his slave kindly where so many opportunities exist for desertion; and I have not heard of many instances of tyranny in this neighbourhood. They appear in general contented with their lot, are most of them married, and certainly cannot complain of being overworked. A few have, indeed, sought shelter in our camp, but they were the property of poor people residing at Beila, or in that vicinity, and chiefly complained of a want of food as having led to their first quarrelling with their masters, and then running away when punished. From the intercourse between Sindhians and Seedhee women, one race, called Guda, has sprung up: they are equally slaves with their mothers, and may be bought or sold at will. The tribe of Beerovees, who dwell near Beila, make a practice of selling their children when in want, which appears to be generally the case, as no difficulty is experienced in obtaining them whenever required. Hindús prefer them as household servants, in consequence of their being better looking than Seedhees, and able to speak the Sindhian language."

Chap. VII. Page 121.

For the following valuable report and remarks on the navigation of the Indus, the author is indebted to the kindness of Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, late Superintendent of the Indian navy, under whose immediate orders the beautiful surveys of the river by Lieutenant (now Captain) Carless, of the I. N., were carried out, and whose interest and exertions in all connected with the navigation of the Indus have been un-

remitting and highly conducive to the great object proposed. This latter officer's practical knowledge and experience of the peculiarities of the Indus render every opinion he may offer of the highest value; and the author believes he is warranted in asserting that, notwithstanding the difference of opinion which prevails on the subject of Indus navigation, the best informed naval officers, amongst others Captain Carless, consider that, with properly constructed boats to be used as tugs (such as are now erecting by the Honourable Company), *trade could be safely and advantageously carried on from Bombay up the Indus and Sutlij rivers, instead of, as heretofore, from Calcutta by way of the Ganges, and down those streams;* and though, at present, the harbour of Karrachi (before described as that of all Sindh) is said to be closed against steamers during the monsoon, yet no efforts having hitherto, on any one occasion, been made to watch the effects of the monsoon on the Karrachi bar, no decided and definite opinion can be given as to its impracticability or otherwise. It, moreover, appears, much to be desired that the Bombay government should appoint some able officer from the Indian navy to be present, and to make such daily and detailed reports during two monsoons as will settle the question; for in every point of view, commercially and politically, it is of the highest interest to know whether we are to have our steamers shut out from Karrachi, and consequently all communication by sea cut off for three months in the year. The above opinions are advanced as those of parties who may be considered pre-eminently qualified to give them, and it is sincerely to be hoped that Bombay, knowing her own interests, will eventually find matters in Sindh in that position to enable her to disprove the opinion elsewhere prevailing, that the western presidency cannot derive the advantages contemplated from the *upward* navigation of the Indus, but that Calcutta must continue to supply the countries on and beyond that stream, because the Indus and Sutlij are not navigable!

OFFICIAL REPORT ON THE STATE AND NAVIGATION OF THE INDUS BELOW HYDERABAD, COMPILED BY LIEUT. CARLESS, I. N.; WITH A REPORT ON THE INUNDATION OF THE INDUS, ETC. ETC., BY LIEUT. WOOD, I. N.

About fifty miles from the sea, the river Indus, it is well known, divides into two grand arms, the Buggaur and the Setta. During the dry season, no communication now exists between the Buggaur and the main stream, a sand bank having accumulated at the confluence, which is five or six feet above the level of the water; in all the branches diverging from it the water is salt for the greater part of the year, and they are then merely inlets of the sea. The Setta, or eastern arm, pursues the same course to the ocean as the great river from which it is supplied, and is, in fact, a continuation of it; in every part it preserves a similar magnitude, and for a long period it has been, as it is now, the principal channel of the Indus: in its passage to the sea it receives many local appellations, but is best known near the coast as the Munnejah or Wanyani. Of the four branches it sends off, the Mull and Moutni are impassable at the point where they leave the parent stream, and nothing is now seen of these once noble rivers but two shallow rivulets, one of which you may step across, and the other but a few yards wide. The Hujamri and Kedywari are the only two now favoured to any extent by the fresh water, or which possess navigable channels into the main river; the latter, however, can scarcely be called a branch, for it is merely a shallow creek with a broad entrance that quits the Munnejah near its mouth. Above the Delta two more branches are thrown off by the Indus, the Pinyari and Falláli, which are rivers only during the inundation; after it has subsided they dry up for miles, and are besides closed by bunds thrown across them above the seaport towns. *State of the branches.*

The Indus formerly reached the sea through eleven large mouths; but three of them now suffice in the dry season to discharge its waters: of these the Phittee, Pyntianee, Jouah, and Richel belong to the Buggaur, and the Hujamri, Kedywári, *Mouths.*

Kookiwari, Kahir, and Mull to the Setta: the Sir and Kori are entrances to the Pinyari and Falláli branches, and complete the number. Besides these, there are many small mouths, but, as it would only tend to confuse, I shall not name them. At present the Kookiwari, which gives egress to the waters of the Munnejah river, is a grand embouchure of the Indus; in the late maps it is called the Gora, but erroneously so, for that mouth was deserted by the stream some years ago, and its site is now occupied by an extensive swamp.

Coast of the Delta.

Between the eastern and western mouths the coast of the Delta runs nearly in a straight direction to the N.W. about 125 miles; in the charts now in use it is laid down above half a degree too far to the eastward, and the same error will be found in every part that exists at the mouths of the Hujamri and Kori, where the longitude has been ascertained by numerous observations: the former is in 67° 25′ 21″ east, and the latter in 68° 30′ east. The shore is low and flat throughout, and at high water partially overflowed to a considerable distance inland. With the exception of a few spots covered with jungle, it is entirely destitute of trees or shrubs, and nothing is seen for many miles but a dreary swamp: wherever this occurs, the land is scarcely discernible two miles from the shore; but at those parts where there are bushes, it is visible from the deck of a small vessel double that distance. On a coast so devoid of objects, and partly submerged at times, it is often difficult to distinguish the mouths of the different rivers, and but few directions can be given to assist the navigator in finding them. The Sir is known by some sand-heaps topped with bushes on its north point, which are sufficiently elevated to be visible some distance; the Cutch pilots call this point Douppee, and always stand in to sight it before they steer for the Munnejah bank. There is a similar spot at the Richel mouth, which also serves as a guide in approaching the Hujamri river two miles below it. The bank, every where projecting from the coast, extends from the Bay of Karrachi to the N.W. extremity of Cutch. In breadth it varies considerably: off the mouths of the Setta, where broad flats have been cast up by the greater strength of the tide, it runs out in some places five or six miles, and at low water is dry for a distance of fifteen miles along the shore: at the Kori

Marks for finding rivers.

Bank.

Tides.

mouth it is of a similar breadth, but only dries here and there in small patches: in other parts the outer edge is only two or three miles from the land, and sometimes less, and at low tide it has a depth of water on it, which, from two and a half fathoms, decreases gradually to four or five feet. On the bank the bottom is smooth and hard, but outside is composed of soft mud. The tides are extremely irregular between the Sir and Mull mouths, thirty miles apart; the current sets constantly to the E. S. E., and the flood or ebb can only be distinguished by the rise or fall of water, which is not more than four feet: near the Munnejah bank, the ebb runs with some strength directly off shore, and the rise and fall increases to twelve feet: in other parts where the channels are numerous, the tides change their direction every hour, and they are scarcely felt at a greater distance than two or three miles from the shore.

Navigation of the coast.

During the fine season, the Sindh coast may be navigated without difficulty; the soundings are every where a sufficient guide, and in general decrease so gradually, and with such regularity, that no danger is to be apprehended in approaching it The only shoal of any consequence is the Great Munnejah Bank, which projects beyond the line of the direct route to the northern rivers. In passing it during the night, large vessels ought not to come under seven fathoms; for it is rather steep in some parts, and from that depth the soundings decrease very rapidly. Land and sea breezes generally prevail with cold clear weather, but the wind sometimes blows very fresh from the N. E., and the atmosphere is obscured by clouds of dust. The fine season is over long before it terminates on the Malabar coast, and the navigation becomes very dangerous. Early in February the westerly winds set in with considerable violence, and for the first fortnight the weather is always very tempestuous; strong gales are also sometimes encountered in this month, and there is a heavy, tumultuous sea continually running, which breaks across the mouths of most of the rivers. In 1833 the Shannon schooner was caught in one that lasted twelve hours, and caused the destruction of ten or twelve large boats, which were wrecked on different parts of the coast. Short intervals of fine weather occur afterwards until the middle of

March, but after that date the mouths of the Indus may be considered closed for the season.

Besides the Munnejah, or main river, there is only one branch, the Hujamri, now available for the purpose of opening a communication with the upper part of the Indus: a trigonometrical survey of it has been completed, and the former has been carefully examined from Hyderabad to its mouth.

Mouth of the Hujamri.

The mouth of the Hujamri opens like a funnel, and, with the exception of that part where the river takes its course along the right bank, is occupied by a broad flat partially covered with water: this forms a continuation of the bank every where extending from the coast, which is here rather more than a mile in breadth. The best channel for crossing it runs in a N. N. E. direction, towards the north point of the river, and is 600 yards wide: at the entrance there are heavy breakers on either side, and at high water no greater depth is found on the bar, which is about half a mile inside, than thirteen feet. Besides this channel, there is another that crosses the bank in an easterly line three or four hundred yards above it; but it is extremely shallow, and can only be used by the smallest boats in moderate weather. About this mouth, which is situated in 24° 8′ 20″ north latitude, the land is entirely destitute of objects that could be pointed out as marks to guide the navigator, and without the assistance of a pilot a stranger would have some difficulty in finding it: the Cutch boatmen never attempt to steer for it until they have seen the north point of the Richel, which, being covered with mangrove jungle, is visible some distance, and enables them to ascertain their position correctly. There is, however, no danger in approaching it during the fine season, for the soundings decrease with the greatest regularity up to the edge of the shoals, and the breakers on them are visible when in four or five fathoms water.

Bar.

Mark for finding it.

The Hujamri river.

The general course of the Hujamri, or as it is called in the upper part, Sehwun River, is W. S. W., and its length forty miles. A short distance above the entrance it has a width of 550 yards, which decreases gradually as you proceed upwards, until it contracts to a narrow stream not more than fifty yards broad: of all the branches of the Indus it is the most winding and intricate; in some parts you do not advance in a direct line more

Its port.

than one mile in three, and the reaches turn back so directly upon each other, that nothing but a narrow neck of land, scarcely 100 yards broad, is left between them. Bunder Vikkur, its port, is situated twenty miles from the sea. Below that town the channel occupies about half the stream, and, with a few exceptions, crosses from side to side at the middle of each reach: the deepest part will generally be found close to the steep banks, and the shallowest wherever they are low and rise gradually from the water. In the lower part of the river the soundings are very irregular, but at high tide there is nowhere less than two fathoms in the deep channel, until you arrive at an extensive bar or flat, nineteen miles from its mouth, on which not more than seven and a half feet is found: this is the only impediment that exists below Vikkur, and the large boats that arrive from Cutch and Guzírat are often detained until the height of the springs before they can cross it. Immediately above Vikkur, the river runs in a succession of reaches broader in the middle than at the ends, where they contract so much as to leave a passage barely eighty yards wide; here it is alternately deep at the angles and shallow wherever it widens; on the flats the depth varies from three to eight feet, but they are full of holes, and a continuous channel of more than five nowhere exists: near its junction with the Setta, its breadth for many miles rarely exceeds fifty yards, and in the dry season it is easily forded in six or eight different places. The soil brought down by the Indus is a mixture of sand and clay, and rapidly acquires firmness after it has been deposited; on most of the flats the bottom is very hard in consequence, and this is likewise the case in all the deep channels. In the upper part of the river the current is extremely feeble, but in the lower part the tides influenced by the ocean are much stronger; even there, however, they are not rapid, for their velocity scarcely ever exceeds three miles an hour, and is generally much less. At Vikkur the flood is irregular in its approach, and, ten miles above it, ceases to be felt altogether. At the mouth there is a rise and fall of eight feet on the springs, and it diminishes gradually in ascending until it is no longer perceptible. Depth

In its course to the sea the Hujamri sends off several creeks, Creek, communication.

which connect it during the inundation with the Richel. Of these, the Chagooloo quits the stream about five miles below Vikkur, and the Kedyairee a few miles further down; midway between them there is also a large canal, called Bowra-ke-wah, constructed some years ago by a wealthy Banyan, whose name it bears. After the swell has subsided, they all dry up, and the only communication that then exists between this river and the western branches is by a salt-water creek close to its mouth, called the Bughà; at high tide it affords a passage to the largest dúndis, and by this route they are enabled to proceed by the Richel into the Buggaur, which is said to be accessible to vessels drawing fifteen or sixteen feet: from that branch they pass through a creek into the Garrah, a small stream that conducts them to the harbour of Karrachi. The Rahpoorah creek forms the only communication between the Hujamri and the Munnejah, but it is never filled until the night tide has risen to its greatest height, and even then can only be used by the smallest boats.

Bunder Vikkur.

Amongst the seaports of Sindh, Bunder Vikkur may be considered as next in importance to Karrachi; the port takes its name from a small village in the vicinity, but the town is called Barree Gorah; it contains about 120 houses constructed of reeds and grass, plastered with mud, and including the contiguous villages, has a population of 1200 souls, composed of Hindús, Jutts, and a few Bilúchis. Opposite the town the river, although not more than 170 yards in width, is deep, there being four and five fathoms close to the bank; it affords in consequence every facility for the discharge or shipment of cargoes, and the largest boats are enabled to lie close to the store-houses for that purpose. The appearance of the place altogether is wretched beyond description, but it possesses, notwithstanding, a considerable trade, and has now become a depôt for the greater part of the foreign and internal commerce of the Delta.

At high water, vessels drawing nine or ten feet can pass into the Hujamri without difficulty, but none of a greater draught than seven feet can ascend it as high as Vikkur. Boats built for the purpose of navigating it throughout ought not to draw more than two and a half feet at the utmost; at that depth they could cross the flats in the upper part when

the river is at its lowest, and from the weakness of the current might proceed with rapidity.

From the direction in which this branch leaves the parent stream, very little water passes into it, and the tide has not sufficient velocity to prevent the sand and earth from settling in its bed; it is fast filling up in consequence, and in a few years will become impassable from the same cause that has operated in closing the Buggaur and some of the minor branches. This however, might be prevented. About a mile below its efflux the Setta turns with a sharp bend to the southward, and the whole body of water is precipitated against the right bank, which is very steep, with considerable force; if a canal were cut from the angle, 1500 yards in length, and in the same line as the current above runs down upon it, it would reach one of the windings of the Hujamri; from the volume of water that would be thrown by these means into that branch, and the increased rapidity of the tide, it would no doubt gradually become deeper and broader, and in a few years might regain its former magnitude. If this should ever occur, the advantages are obvious, the Hujamri mouth being accessible to larger vessels, and more easily navigated than any other now favoured by the fresh water. It is impossible to calculate what alterations would take place in the lower part of the main river by turning a portion of its waters into another channel, but I do not think it would be affected either in its course, depth, or magnitude; of one thing, however, we may be assured — the Indus at its mouths can scarcely ever be in a worse state than it is at present, and any change must be for the better.

The Kookiwari mouth is situated about ten miles below the entrance of the Hujamri river. The broad bank that has accumulated before it projects five miles from the land, and is intersected by three channels which give egress to the waters of the Munnejah; two of them cross the bank nearly in the same direction as the course of the river that supplies them; but the other turning to the N. W., runs some distance in a line parallel with the shore, and after uniting with the channel of the Kedywari, reaches the sea about five miles to the southward of the Hujamri mouth. The latter is the best of the three, and between 300 and 400 yards broad; at the height of the flood

Kookiwari mouth.

North channel.

Depth on the bar.

the least water on the bar is ten feet, but inside, the depth increases to eleven, twelve, and sometimes fourteen: about half-way up the channel, there is a shallow spot which has barely nine feet on it in the deepest part, and this is the least water obtained throughout. All these soundings were taken at the height of the springs when the rise and fall is about five feet. At the lowest state of the tide the central parts of the bank are elevated twelve feet above the level of the sea, and the beds of

Southern channels.

the two southern channels from three to four; the vast body of water issuing from the Munnejah river rushes through them with great impetuosity, and with a noise that in calm weather is heard some distance; they then form what may be termed rapids, and on the extreme edge of the bank terminate in a fall of about twelve inches. In all these channels the ebb tide runs at a rate of about four miles an hour, but the current of the flood, which is only felt for a short time, is very weak, and does not extend more than four or five miles above the mouth of the river. After the first week in February, when the westerly winds have set in, the navigation becomes dangerous, for their entrances are not protected in the slightest degree from the swell, and the sea at intervals breaks right across them. Off the great bank, the sea rises higher than it does on the other parts of the coast, and it is only from this circumstance that the Kookiwari mouth is accessible. Sailing vessels drawing seven feet might enter it by the north channel without much difficulty; but their progress depending in a great measure on the wind and tide, they are not so well calculated to navigate it as steamers. From its great length, and the absence of all local marks by which its direction can be ascertained when the shoals are covered, it would be difficult to pass through it without grounding continually, and I should not advise the attempt being made until buoys have been laid down at the entrance, and at short distances throughout its extent.

Main river below Hyderabad.

From Hyderabad the main stream of the Indus pursues a S. S. W. direction to the ocean, and with the exception of two sharp bends, one at the part where the Pinyari quits it, and the other below the confluence of the Hujamri branch, its course is rather direct. The distance in a straight line is 90 miles, but by the windings of the stream about 112. In the Delta it

receives many names: near the sea it is known as the Munnejah or Wanyani, which it retains for a distance of 12 miles, and above that is called successively the Moograh, the Popet, and the Setta. The width of its mouth, the Kookiwari, is 1100 yards, but it quickly decreases to 700, and the channel, which runs along the left bank and is deep is further contracted to 400 by a flat extending from the opposite side. At high tide the land about the entrance is submerged to a considerable extent, but at low water affords pasturage for large herds of buffaloes. On the right bank there are several villages situated in the Kookiwari Purgunnah, from which the mouth takes its name, and near them two small creeks leading to the swamp that once formed the Gora mouth. At Betri, a village four or five miles from its mouth, the river is 600 yards wide, and the banks are intersected by numerous creeks filled by every tide: two on the left bank, navigable at high water for small boats, communicate with the Kahir mouth, and several larger ones on the other side with the Kedywari. Nine miles above Betri, the river has a breadth of 890 yards, and sends off a branch called the Moutni, which is now nearly closed by sand-banks: it was formerly discharged by the Kahir mouth, has still a stream of about 30 yards wide, and will probably be found navigable for dúndis, at high water. Three miles higher up, the deserted bed of the Mull is seen: all that remains of this river, which was once broad and deep, is a small channel that you may step across, and this is not filled until the tide has attained its greatest height. The Hujamri branch is thrown off at the village of Sehwun, where the river contracts to the width of 470 yards: up to this place there is said to be nowhere less than 2½ fathoms in the deepest part of the channel, and the velocity of the current varies in different places from three to four miles an hour.

Main river from Sehwun to Tattah.

Between Sehwun and Tattah shallows abound, and the navigation becomes very intricate; in some spots the river is particularly foul, and wanders in many channels over the whole extent of its inundation bed; in general not more than one of them is navigable, and they are generally narrow and winding. In the bends of the reaches the depth of water is often very great, but in other parts they have not more than nine or ten feet in them, they also change their direction with great rapidity,

for, in two instances, the fair channel which runs close along the left bank, when the Indus steamer passed up the river, was found two months afterwards to have shifted its position over to the other side. On turning the first reach above Sehwun, the full strength of the current is first encountered: here, as at several other places, it runs at the rate of five miles an hour; but its general velocity is not more than three and a half. In this part of the river the banks are alternately shelving and steep, and marks of the alterations that have taken place in its course are every where visible; in some places they have evidently at no distant period formed shoals in its bed, and at others they are fast giving way before the strength of the current. The country is thinly populated, and in general covered with thick tamarisk jungle, occasionally mixed with the Babool: few villages are met with, and the largest does not contain above 100 houses. A small stream called the Teeteeah quits the river about eight miles above Sehwun, which during the inundation affords a passage into the Richel, and at Ooplaun a few miles higher up on the other side, there are two large canals, leading one to Shahbunder and the other to Mughribi: these canals are open about the 10th of July, and are navigable for small boats to these towns until after the second fall of the river, which takes place on the 25th of September. Abreast of Tattah the banks are a mile and a quarter apart; but the water does not occupy above one third of this space: the remainder is filled up by an extensive dry shoal. The Buggaur is four miles below Tattah; the sand-bank that has been cast up where its efflux was now forms a part of the right bank of the river.

From Tattah to Hyderabad.

Above Tattah the bed of the river in many places is full of small shoals, and the intricacy of the navigation increases: the banks are also frequently low on both sides, and no longer indicate, as in the lower part, where the deepest water is to be found. At the village of Kuddy, its width is 980 yards, but at the angle of the reach in which it is situated not more than 390: abreast the Pinyari it increases to 760, and at Triccul, a few miles below Hyderabad, again contracts to 380. The strength of the current is considerably diminished, and there are very few places where its velocity is greater than three miles an hour. In this section of the river, the depth of water has not as yet

been fully ascertained in every part; in the soundings taken across the shallows at certain distances, from 8 feet 4 inches to 7 feet 6 inches has always been found in some part of the line: it is highly probable that a continuous channel of this depth exists from Hyderabad to its mouth. The only branch thrown off by the Indus in this part of its course is the Pinyari, which quits the river at Bunna, a village half way between Tattah and Hyderabad, and in the dry season is not more than forty yards wide: the stream does not extend many miles from its efflux, and its waters are clear and stagnant. Near Triccul a small creek communicates with the Falláli branch, but it is only filled by the inundation, and then insulates the land on which the capital is built. A short distance from Tattah and on the same side the first hill is seen: it is low and of sandstone formation. From this place the Shikargahs or hunting preserves of the Amirs extend on both sides of the river up to the capital: they are composed principally of large Mimosa and Tamarisk trees, and are so overrun with thick underwood as to be almost impervious. Most of the low sandy tracts between them are thinly covered with bushes, and very little cultivation is seen until you arrive at Hyderabad, where there are a few fields and gardens. From that city a range of low table hills about 200 feet high extends along the left bank to Triccul, a village twelve miles below it, and there is also a small group at Jerkh, eight miles lower down.

Instructions for navigating the river between Tattah and Hyderabad.

It is almost impossible to give any instructions for navigating a river so foul and changeable in its character as the Indus, and even if given, they may perhaps become entirely useless three months afterwards: the following general directions however for passing the worst part of it between Tattah and Hyderabad, extracted from Lieutenant Wood's journal, may prove of some service. "Immediately the large sand-bank and shoals abreast of Tattah are cleared, shape a course for the left bank and keep to it until past the village of Ratti: then cross to the opposite side and follow it until you come to the next reach, where it adheres to the left bank throughout. Above this reach there is a dry flat in the centre of the stream: pass between it and the left bank, and then keep in mid-channel until you arrive at Bunna: from that village to Jerkh the fair channel is along the left bank

for a distance of three miles, but above that pursues a course through the centre of the river. In the bend of the reach at Bunna, there is a reef of rocks under water projecting from the bank, and another at Jerkh, but they are easily distinguished by the ripples on them. From Jerkh the channel adheres to the right bank, and crosses to the opposite side near a remarkable clump of trees eight miles higher up: above this the river for a distance of 12 miles is very crooked, and in one part divides into two channels which enclose an island; here the channel is extremely intricate, and no directions can be given for finding it. From the north point of the island to Karaka (three miles) the deepest water will be found along the left bank, and from that place to Hyderabad (three miles) through the middle of the stream.

The harbour of Karrachi the natural sea-port of Sindh.

" From the numerous difficulties which have been shown to exist in the Delta, even for steamers, it appears to me more than probable that when trade is established with the upper countries bordering upon that river, that the merchandise destined for the passage by the Indus will be imported at Karrachi in the first instance, from which place goods can easily be transported by camels to the right bank of the Indus opposite Hyderabad, above which point the navigation may be carried on without interruption at least as far as Sehwun.

The navigation of the Indus in the lower part is extremely intricate, but with proper precautions unattended with danger, or any great risk to property: unaided by steam, it will always be tedious; but even with that power the time required for ascending it will not be shortened so much as is anticipated: from the foul state of the river and the strength of the current in many parts, it is evident that frequent delays will occur. The fair channel is not always to be detected, and when found not easy to follow: in some places it is extremely narrow, and shifts its position with extraordinary rapidity: none of the boatmen possess a sufficient knowledge of its direction to act as pilots, and in dropping down the river in the dry season are obliged to have a small boat sounding ahead; even with this precaution they often run aground where a few months before there had been abundance of water; and much difficulty is at times experienced in getting again into the deep channel.

Steamers built for the navigation of the Indus ought to be constructed with perfectly flat bottoms; and if employed as tugs, to possess a speed of at least nine knots; their draught should be as small as possible, and, in my opinion, ought not to exceed four feet at the utmost. Vessels drawing six or seven feet could enter the main river by the Kookiwari mouth, and might no doubt ascend it to Hyderabad, but where the channels are so changeable, intricate, and narrow, the risk would be great, and their progress extremely slow.

Supply of fuel for steamers.

On the banks of the river fuel is scarce; and, except in the Shikargahs or game preserves, there is no large wood; in those spots it is abundant, and if permission could be obtained to take away only the dead trees, no scarcity is likely to be experienced, in the event of steamers being introduced, for some years. In the Delta the tamarisk bush is the only resource: it seldom attains to a great height or thickness, and as a single bush affords but few billets, it requires considerable time to cut down a cargo. During the late trip of the Indus steamer the wood of the Babool (Mimosa Arabica) was found to answer admirably for fuel, and that of the Tare or Mangrove was equally good; the latter, however, is scarce, the tree being only found near the sea. At present, if proper arrangements were made, a sufficient supply of fuel could always be commanded to keep two small steamers constantly plying.

Tracking in the N. E. monsoon.

In the dry season, when the northerly winds blow strong down the river, sailing vessels ascending it can only proceed by tacking; this method, though extremely tedious, is well suited to the peculiarities of the Indus, and as now performed admits of little or no improvement. The only danger is experienced in the bends of a river, where the current has a quick gyratory motion, and is continually exerting its influence to undermine the banks; at these places when a boat is caught by the eddies she is driven with force against the steep bank, and if a large mass becomes detached by the concussion, which sometimes happens, her destruction is almost inevitable.

The dúndi.

The form of the dúndi*, or flat-bottomed boat of the country,

* Models of the different kinds of flat boats used on the Indus may be seen at the Model Room of the Dockyard.

is well adapted to the navigation of the river, and there is no kind of vessel better calculated for the transport of goods. The chief defect in its construction is the small power possessed by the rudder, which arises from the great breadth of the stern below the water line; this might be easily remedied, but any great deviation from the general principle on which it is constructed would not be an improvement. From the scarcity of large trees and the high price of teak plank, the workmen are obliged to use the small wood of the country in building their boats; most of them are formed of innumerable pieces fastened by bamboo pegs, nails being only employed to secure the knees and ribs; they are in consequence liable to many accidents that would not affect their safety if they were constructed of better materials; and in the lower part of the river there are about forty or fifty lost annually.

INUNDATION OF THE INDUS.

After the departure of the surveying vessel Nerbuddah (Lieut. Carless), which had been occupied during the months of January and February, and till the 15th of March in examining the mouths and Delta branches of the Indus, I was ordered to remain in Sindh for the purpose of observing the river during the hot months when the inundation takes place.

For this purpose I selected a place in the vicinity of Hyderabad for my residence, and at this spot I made the following observations on the progress of the swell of the Indus: —

Main river — its branches.

1. The branches of the Indus, both within and above its Delta, are either perfectly dry during the greater portion of the year, or they form a series of pools, the resort of fishermen, but unnavigable. By the middle of May its branches are partially refilled; both arms of the Delta open, and at this period of the year the river is characterised by its many mouths. When once the swell begins to subside, the fall during the first few days is sufficient to cut off all communication between the river and its branches. On the 26th of September, only four days after the commencement of the second or last fall, the Indus above its

Delta did not possess one navigable off-set, the Buggaur or Western arm of the Delta included.

2. The Falláli and Pinyari are the only two branches thrown off in Lower Sindh above the Delta; and the register for August shows, that even during the height of the swell, their navigation is uncertain. This remark merely applies to the state of these branches in the neighbourhood of the parent stream, as at their efflux the strong current of the Indus sweeping past the almost stagnant waters of the Falláli and Pinyari has cast up extensive flats, which even in the month of August at times preclude boats, requiring four feet water, passing from the main river into either of them. Once over these flats there is amplo water, and an extensive line of communication.* In 1809 a navigable off-set from the Falláli † rejoined the Indus at the village of Triccul, forming the island of Hyderabad. It still, at the height of the freshes, insulates the capital, but is not now navigable by the smallest country boat. Both the Pinyari and Falláli are dammed up, and their waters reserved for agricultural purposes. The dam or "bund" of the former is at the town of the Mughribí, situated forty-nine miles from the Indus, and at an equal distance from the sea; that of the latter is on the northern verge of the Sindree lake, five miles north of the submerged Fort of Sindree. The Mughribí bund is an artificial formation, but that of the Falláli was thrown up by the earthquake of 1819, from which circumstance it is called Ullah Bund, or the Bund of God.‡ This advantage is not obtained without a corresponding sacrifice. The amount of annual deposit, where there is no current to retard its settling, is considerable; and in a course of years the beds of these branches will attain a level fatal to distant districts, now solely depending for irrigation on these sources of supply. Comparing their present crippled state with what the Falláli is understood to have been, when a large tract of Cutch drew fertility from its waters, the process would seem to be rapidly pro-

Falláli and Pinyari.

Islands of Hyderabad.

Dams or bunds of the Falláli and Pinyari. Where situated.

* This is from native information.

† MS. Journal of A. H. Smith's Mission to the Court of Sindh, by Lieut. Maxfield, H. C. M.

‡ A Memoir on the Eastern Branch of the Indus and the Run of Cutch, by Lieut. Alexander Burnes.

gressing; and as canals and drains usually first clog at the further end, the changes which the Fallâli and Pinyari have undergone in modern times probably become more apparent as they recede from the main river. The sand-bars which lie at their efflux prevent the escape of a large body of water when the swell subsides, as well as retard their filling, when the river rises. By the time the increasing current of the main river cuts through these obstructions, there is a difference of level betwixt its bed and theirs, so that at first the water rushes into them with considerable force, and rises at some places to an unexpected height.

Sand-bars or flats at the efflux of the branches.

Extent of inundation.

3. From the head of the Delta to Hyderabad, a distance of about sixty miles, the river during the height of its freshes is confined to a well-defined channel. Its bed is full, — at some places partially overflowing, but in the immediate neighbourhood of the river, throughout the tract in question, the fields are watered by the Persian wheel. Between the steep bank of inundation, and what may be termed a second or inner bank formed by the shrunk stream of the dry season, there is left in some of the reaches a strip of land of considerable extent, which is either overrun with young tamarisk, or an oil seed is scattered while the ground is moist, and a crop thus obtained without expense or further trouble. The tenacious nature of this clayey soil defies the powers of the husbandman, and even were it turned up, it would not afford nourishment to any of the grains. Its spontaneous productions sufficiently prove this, as amongst them we search in vain for even a blade of grass. Though the country between the two capitals is not subject to inundation, the command of water is ample to all the purposes of agriculture, and the limited extent of cultivation along the borders of the river must be ascribed to other causes than a want of the means of irrigation. In the neighbourhood of the river may be met a few sheets of water which are scarcely evaporated when the Indus begins to swell on the following year. For instance, one named Shawghur, three miles S. S. W. of Hyderabad, one at the village of Heliya, called Heengour, and another inland from the town of Jerkh.

Its effect on agriculture.

4. In Sindh agriculture depends entirely upon the Indus. The fall of rain is quite inadequate to rear any one product of

its soil. The expense of raising water in the winter months confines cultivation at that season to a few scattered patches along the immediate banks of the river. The best land lying further back can only be worked during the swell, at which season one wheel does the work of two.

5. As the country between the Delta and Hyderabad is not subject to inundation, its staple produce differs materially from those districts that are. In Upper Sindh, barley and wheat form the principal part of the crop. Rice is the staple of the Delta, but there the ground occupied by it and other grains bears very little proportion to the breadth sown with juwari and badjery. This tract is also exposed to an evil from which the flooded districts are exempted. An insufficient rise affects both, but the former may suffer from an excess. The ground is prepared and much of the seed sown while the river is rising; should the water after this continue to increase much beyond its usual volume, the fields are flooded, and the season for juwari and badjery lost, for these grains, though they may sprout, will not rear if kept under water beyond a very limited time: the natives say they are burned up. What with lost labour and choked canals, the disappointment may be grievous; but it brings its own cure, and if serious consequences do ensue, the fault is with the cultivator, for when the waters retire he has only to strew his sodden fields with barley or wheat, and in due time, with far less labour than his destroyed crops would have demanded of him, he reaps the reward of his industry.

Peculiarities to which it gives rise.

6. The Indus after its maximum rise in August, which it this year attained on the 7th of that month, continues alternately to fall and rise till the latter end of September, about which time it may be said to have a second rise; this second rise occurred this year on the 22d of September, and was one foot three inches and three tenths below that of the maximum in the preceding month. From the 7th of August to the end of that month, the total fall was one foot three inches and one tenth; and from the 1st to the 22d of September the river rose and fell, taking the aggregate of each, equally. The last continuous rise was from the 16th to the 22d inclusive: it amounted to one foot two inches and eight tenths, from which day, viz. the 22d of September, the swell regularly subsided. The condition of the crops is

much influenced by the fluctuating state of the river between the maximum in August and that of Septemb ; and should the cultivator not have sufficiently profited by the steady increase of the water, prior to the fall which follows the rise in August, the sickly appearance of his fields, contrasted with the forwardness and healthy look of those of some more provident neighbour, reminds him of the fact while it punishes him for his negligence. Under proper superintendence the canal for seventy-seven days, viz. from the 10th of July to the 25th of September, would rarely ever be empty. The height of the swell varies. This year the natives consider the freshes to have been heavy, as the river ex ded its usual rise by about one foot. An additional eighteen inches would have rendered the inundation general, and destroyed the crops. This, though very unusual, does sometimes occur, even at Hyderabad: three years ago it is said to have been the case.

Drift wood.

7. The drift wood is not so abundant as might be inferred from the numerous ramifications of the Indus. It is, however, considerable, and some poor people in the neighbourhood of the capital earn a livelihood by collecting it for sale. It is of two kinds, large and small. The former is the most plentiful, consisting of coarse spars, portions of Persian wheels which the river has swept away; and the trunks of trees, few of which exceed fourteen inches in diameter, and are generally very crooked. The very small wood is too much sodden to burn, and most of the larger-sized requires a long exposure before it be fit for use. I have only once seen during the winter months a tree so fixed in the stream as to answer the description given of the American "snag" or "sawyer," but frequently trees float down the freshes, which, were the ends of the trunks to come in contact with a vessel rapidly ascending the river, would place her in imminent danger, though of the stoutest build.

Danger from the drift wood.

Swell, its rise and fall.

1. The Indus begins to rise on the 23d of March and to subside on the 23d of September. This coincidence with the equinoxes is singular. The river has, as I before said, besides its maximum rise on the 7th of August, another on the 22d of September. The height of the former is fifteen feet two inches eight tenths; that of the latter, thirteen feet eleven inches five

tenths; it varies with the width of the river, and the same may be said of the current. The maximum [illegible] of the latter is seven one-sixteenth geographical [illegible]. While the river is rising its strength is greatest; [illegible] a few inches even at the height of the freshes occasion [illegible] diminution in its velocity. From Tattah to Hyderabad [illegible] general width of the river during the swell is about three quarters of a mile. To this there are three [illegible]. The first occurs at the end of the second [illegible] Hyderabad, the second at Bunna, and the third at [illegible]. At each of these places the stream runs in two channels, and when the island so formed is under water, the river has more the resemblance of a large lake than a running stream. The mean depth at the height of the inundation is twenty-three feet two inches eight tenths. The freshes at their commencement are recognised more in the increased velocity of the current than by the enlargement of the streams, of which neither the width or depth are proportionably augmented. The discharge for April is double that of March, though the appearance of the river has undergone little change. It is otherwise with its channel, in which the first increase effects a change for the better. Shoals disappear from mid-channel, and accumulate in extensive flats along shore. By the 1st of May the channel is tolerably clear.

2. Captain Maxfield's information led Lieut. Burnes to conclude, the Indus began to swell about the beginning of July. The mission of 1809, to which he was attached, was in Sindh in June, July, and August. By the end of July the inundation is nearly at its height, and consequently his account also should be considered descriptive of the Indus in its swollen state. This remark is partly applicable to Lieut. Burnes's description of the river in the upper part of its course. May and June are the months in which he traversed the river above Hyderabad. In May the Indus discharged six times the volume of water it did in March; it is therefore evident that, however correctly he may have delineated the Indus in these months, the description will not suit the river in the dry season. At the time he passed from the sea to Hyderabad, about the middle of April, the river had not risen sufficient to produce any material alteration in

Captain Maxfield's description of the Indus.

Lieut. Burnes's account of the river.

its appearance, and, with the exception of the general depth, which he states too high, is most accurately described.

Source of supply.

3. Though the amount of daily increase is very unequal, and even large depressions for days together not unfrequent, yet, notwithstanding this, the steadiness and regularity which mark the progress of the swell, and the almost steady increase that some months exhibit, show the source from which this river draws much of its supply to be constant and regular. Before the rainy season of India has commenced, while the beds of her streams are yet dry, and even the Ganges at its lowest ebb, the Indus has attained one half its total rise. Large contributions must be drawn from the rains, and to their influence the irregularities in the register should be ascribed; but in countries lying between the parallels of 31° and 36° of north latitude (the geographical position of those drained by the Indus and its tributaries), the fall of rain is capricious and seldom heavy. Various circumstances combine to give this steadiness to the freshes of the Indus; its length, of course, the trunk, number, size, and more especially the disposition of its feeders, have all an influence to this effect; but when to the locality from which its supplies are derived, we add the early commencement of its swell, the principal cause seems to be the unequal action of the sun upon the snows of the Himalaya. That this is the occasion of the early swell of the river there is little room to doubt, but that it is not the sole cause, the irregularity in the daily increase is a tolerable proof. A cause for the sudden rise of about two feet which took place in the early part of May, seems probably to be the falling of heavy spring showers in the northerly and elevated regions traversed by its tributaries.

S. W. monsoon, its influence on the swell of the river.

4. The northern limit of the monsoon on the shores of Western India it is difficult to fix, but a diagonal stretching from the 23d degree of latitude on the Arabian coast to the 24th on the opposite, will approximate the boundary line, assuming a tangible point on both coasts. The division is marked by Cape Rasalgate on the one, and the Kori inlet separating Cutch from Sindh on the other. South of the line, we have a wet weather S. W. monsoon, on the other side a S. W. dry. Ships from the Persian Gulf at this season of the year rarely meet with wet weather till past the parallel of the above

Cape, and in Sindh the monsoon is almost unaccompanied with rain, although Cutch partakes in the wet season of peninsular India. Thus the Indus, in its long course through the plains, derives little or no supply from the monsoon. Even a S. W. wind blowing over Cutch, the northern limit of the rains falls among the most southern of its tributaries; from which we may infer that whatever proportion the supply derived from the periodical rains may bear to the annual expenditure, the chief contributors must be the rivers of the Punjaub.

5. It is a current remark in Sindh that high winds accelerate the swell of the river: there is truth in the observation, but the register will show that such is far from being always the case. The cause seems to be the monsoon, which, setting in so early on the coast of Sindh, raises the mean level of the sea, and so retards the free efflux of the stream: considerable at first, it becomes less sensible as the freshes advance; but, even in the month of April, the relation is not very marked.

6. The monsoon is fresh, but, as before remarked, it rarely brings rain. The total fall this year is 2·35 inches. The evaporation column is the best proof of the character of the wind and atmosphere as to dryness or humidity. The sky is usually clear, and covered with such clouds as denote fine weather or high winds. Its character in Lower Sindh.

7. Were the Sindh coast sheltered from the monsoon, we might have a greater extent of sand-banks off the mouth of the river than exists under present circumstances, but a deep and navigable entrance would, in all probability, be the result. A calm sea, though it facilitates deposit, is favourable to a clear channel. The stream unobstructed rushes out in a mass, and, by throwing up sand-banks on both sides, fixes deeper its channel and becomes more permanent. But the Indus is not thus circumstanced: the coast is exposed to the full fury of the monsoon; the waves, gathering strength from the distance traversed, break with violence on its shores; the stream, beaten back, expands, and, by so doing, loses the momentum necessary to preserve an open channel. If these premises be correct, the entrance to the river, and the mouth by which the discharge is effected, are never identical. The country boats will ever be Its probable influence on the formation of the bar at the mouth of the river.

found the surest guide to the safest entrance; many of the Nacodahs are grown old in the Sindh trade.

Ganges and Indus.

8. In a former report, in which these rivers are compared by their minimum discharge, the superiority was with the Indus. The accompanying Tables prove it to be otherwise in the opposite season, and that if their relative magnitude be determined by their annual expenditure, the Ganges is much the larger of the two. The disproportion between their discharge in the freshes is very great. The difference in the length of their freshes is, however, considerable; and, when the steadiness and duration of those of the Indus are brought into account, their average discharge throughout the year more nearly approximate. The fall of rain in the Delta of the Indus cannot add much to the amount of the annual discharge, although I have every reason to believe it equals, if not exceeds, the depth registered in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad. From this source the Ganges draws about the seventh part of its annual supply. The Indus with its auxiliaries drain a wide-spread region, and draw supplies from both sides of the Himalaya; but their comparatively high northern parallel places some feeders beyond the reach of the monsoon, and others on it. The Ganges in a more favourable latitude draws immense supplies from the monsoon: its valley runs along the base of the Himalaya. The clouds brushing over the neighbouring mountains, the rain in heavy masses is conveyed by innumerable hill torrents into the river below: it also drains the hilly country to the southward. The Indus at once quits the mountains; the Ganges clings to them. The supply of the former river is comparatively constant and uniform; that of the latter more copious, but less certain.

Current of the Indus.

9. The effect of the first perceptible increase of the river on the velocity of the streams is most apparent. The commencement of the fresh is detected more by the increasing current than from the rising of the water in the river. In May it attains its maximum, at which it continues with little variation until the end of September, when the rapid falling of the river is accompanied by as sudden a decrease in the strength of the current as its rising was distinguished by its speedy increase.

MAXIMUM VELOCITY OF THE CURRENT IN

March.		April.		May.		June.		July.		August.		September.	
Feet.	c.m.	Feet.	c.m.	Feet.	c.m.	Feet.	c.m.	Feet.	c.m.	Feet.	c.m.	Feet.	c.m.
14,964	$2\frac{1}{3}$	21,492	$3\frac{1}{2}$	43,200	$7\frac{1}{5}$	42,078	$6\frac{3}{8}$	43,200	$7\frac{1}{16}$	43,000	$7\frac{1}{6}$	43,200	$7\frac{1}{16}$

As the reach where these measurements were made is the narrowest below Hyderabad, the current in the above Table may be considered the highest that will ever be experienced below that city. In the Delta perhaps it may even exceed what is here given. But this current of seven miles an hour will be no hinderance to the navigation of the Indus during the height of its freshes. Close to the banks its strength is weak, and country boats with a moderate breeze make good progress against the stream. From the 10th of October to the middle of March strong northerly winds prevail upon the Indus. Boats in these months ascending the river must be dragged up by the track rope. Throughout the other months of the year the wind generally blows strong from the S. W., but does not penetrate higher than the town of Sehwun, a distance of about 250 miles from the sea, above this town, throughout the year; vessels bound to the northward have no other means of advancing but that of tracking.

10. During my stay at Hyderabad I endeavoured to collect from every source the best information of the capabilities of the river in the winter months above that city, and the result is, that the Indus about Mittun, at such season, has no permanent channel, but runs in detached streams, which render its navigation difficult; but that from Hyderabad to the northern frontier of Sindh the river is of easy navigation, has abundance of water, and is altogether much superior to the section of the river below the capital.

11. The boats of the Indus Steam Navigation Company are to draw when loaded four feet water. This draft is too great for boats to ply upon the river in the dry season below Hyderabad; above that city, should the river about Mittunkót

Indus Steam Navigation Company.

prove deep and its channel easily traversable, such boats will answer throughout the year. Here I would again remark that the soundings below the capital, in the dry season, nine feet, or the mean depth, eight, will convey to one unacquainted with the character and peculiarities of the Indus far too favourable an impression of its capabilities for steam navigation.

Remarks on the Metereological Tables kept in the Neighbourhood of Hyderabad in Sindh, illustrative of the Climate in the Vicinity of that Capital, with Notes on that of the Delta of the River Indus.

January, February, March. 1. There is no register for these months, but the following is their character:—Mornings cold and foggy. The sun usually rose and set in haze, and in the morning was at times ten and fifteen degrees above the horizon before visible, days cloudy, and the wind from north; heavy dew at night; in the early part, two or three sharp showers fell at Hyderabad. In January, I met with several cases of fever; the other two months were healthy, and in fact the same may be said of January.

April. 2. This month stands, as it were, between the cold and the hot season. It partakes of both, but belongs more to summer than winter. The night will bear a blanket, but the heat of the day is often oppressive. The thermometer ranges between 57 degrees and 108 degrees; calms are frequent. The wind from all quarters but the S. E. It seldom blows fresh, and rarely keeps in the same point three days together; yet fresh S. W. breezes occasionally occur, and when the breeze does freshen up, the clouds of dust sweeping along the roads obscure the sun, partially darken the atmosphere, and penetrating into the tent are more annoying than can well be conceived. The clouds assume no characteristic form; they float high, and the curl-cloud prevails. Lightning was seen on the horizon one evening to the N. W. It was very faint, and most probably but the reflection of the real flash. No thunder, no rain. The dew light,—change marks the month, but I cannot learn that it has had a prejudicial effect on the health of the inhabitants about Hyderabad.

3. Variable winds, though often strong, an almost cloudless sky, and intense heat, distinguish this month. To the 15th the wind was unsteady, and calms not unfrequent; it then adhered more to the S. W. quarter for the remainder of the month. In the early part of May, when the forenoons were calm, the breeze usually set in about 3 P.M., and freshened as the sun went down. The thermometer ranged from 60 degrees to 115 degrees, no rain, thunder, or lightning. Dew very light. The country continues healthy. May.

4. This is a more agreeable month than May. The thermometer ranges between 80 degrees and 113 degrees, but this high temperature is not proportionably felt. The S. W. wind, which up to the 22d was unusually steady, keeps the atmosphere pure and healthy; though usually fresh, its intensity was variable. On the following day a marked change is observable, and up to the end of the month the wind continued unsteady, shifting between N. E. and S. W.; in shifting it came round by west. These days were further distinguished by heavy thunder and vivid lightning; also by one transient but severe squall from the N. E. The dust which it carried along was intolerable. Throughout the month no rain has fallen and no dew. I cannot hear of any sickness. June

5. There is little to remark of July.—June is a warmer month. The wind continues at S. W. generally fresh and steady. On the 13th occurred a thunder-storm, during which the fall of rain was somewhat less than half an inch (fifty-two cents); the total fall for the month is but fifty-eight. The 19th it blew a gale from the S. W., attended with the following phenomena:—Three strata of clouds were plainly discernible; the upper ones looked as if painted on the clear blue sky; it was stationary. The clouds in the centre stratum were of an irregular outline, flying high, and in a direction directly opposite to the wind, whilst those next the earth were carried rapidly along by the gale. The latter were very dense, floated low, and when first seen to windward appeared as if rising out of the horizon. There were no cross currents, rain or electric phenomena. The nights are clear, and no dew falls. The country continues healthy. July.

August. 6. This month differs little from July. The wind is not so strong, and fine weather predominates. The fall of rain is an inch and three quarters, no dew. The river is full and the country healthy.

September. 7. Fine settled clear weather during the day with brilliant star-light nights. — I quitted Hyderabad on the 27th of the month for the mouths of the river. Up to that day the country about the capital had been healthy; but when I arrived in the Delta, only three days after leaving Hyderabad, I found intermittent fever very prevalent. The river began to fall on the 23d of the month, and the dew was first observed on the 14th.

Range of thermometer. 8. From the situation of the tent, within one hundred and fifty yards of the water on the left bank of the river (which was also lee-side), I did not feel the heat so oppressive as the high range of the thermometer indicates.

Hyderabad. 9. The above remark is applicable to Hyderabad: that city is built on the summit of a rocky table hillock, about 80 feet high, a mile and a quarter long, and 700 yards (as paced) broad. The town and fort occupy one end of this plateau, the tombs of the last, and several members of the reigning family the other. Its distance from the Indus in a direct line is three miles; no high land intervenes to intercept the breeze cooled by the river, from exerting its most salutary influence. It is not very probable that the slight reductions in temperature which a stream 800 yards broad will impart to the wind as it sweeps across its surface continues to be felt so far from the banks of the river, and we may rather impute the healthiness of Hyderabad to the pure atmosphere it enjoys from its elevated site than to its vicinity to the Indus. The town is surrounded by swamps, but what pestilential exhalations they emit must be carried beyond its suburbs ere they reach the summit of the plateau. The bazaar streets excepted, the houses are huddled together without much order or attention to comfort. To avoid the bad effects likely to arise from this want of arrangement a stone wind sail, fronting the prevailing wind, is let into the roofs of the houses, a contrivance which insures a free circulation, and excludes the insufferable dust.

10. The situation of Tattah is much inferior to that of Hyderabad. The former is surrounded by low swampy ground, and has not the elevated site of the latter. The town is somewhat above the level of the surrounding country, but not sufficient to escape the noxious vapours which must be generated ascending from the stagnant water, which, in the month of September, almost surrounds the city. The ground on which the town stands is very irregular: many of the houses appear to have been built on the wreck of former habitations. Mounds of earth are seen every where: many of the houses are without inhabitants, and in the suburbs and outer streets of the town there is an uncleanness that strongly reminded me of Bushire, in the Gulf of Persia, after it had been visited by the plague. The rain that falls at Tattah lodges between these mounds and forms so many pools of water. This must be another fruitful cause of disease. Three years ago the town and country suffered severely from a violent epidemic. By the symptoms which accompanied the disease, as the natives described them to me, it was most probably the cholera morbus. Tattah.

11. It thus appears that Hyderabad possesses from its healthy site a decided advantage over the less salubrious situation of Tattah. May not this have partly contributed to raise the former to the rank it now holds; while Tattah deprived of her foreign commerce, and the consequent decreased demand for the beautiful and peculiar fabrics of her looms, has gradually dwindled away, and now lies an extensive ruin? Mounds of rubbish with a few substantial mosques are all that remain to point out her antiquity, and these, though they do not intimate grandeur, bespeak her once flourishing condition. Ancient and modern capitals.

12. When the Indus steamer passed up the river in the month of November 1835, five of her crew were attacked by fever on our arrival at Hyderabad. In the early part of the same month and during the latter end of October, out of a party consisting of eighty-one, who accompanied Captain Burnes to Sindh, seventy-nine had intermittent fever; Captain Burnes and the surgeon, Dr. Heddle, being the only two who escaped. None of the cases were fatal. Disease.

13. From these facts we may infer that, from the day the Unhealthy season.

swell begins to subside the country becomes unhealthy. Part of September and the whole of October is the most dangerous season of the year. It is then that the change of the monsoon takes place and the exhalations from the rice fields are most to be avoided.

CHAP. XVII. Page 333.

For the plan of the battle of Míani I am indebted to the politeness of Mr. James Wyld, the celebrated geographer of West Strand, who has an elaborate detail of the action by an officer present, and whose late maps of the Indus frontier, embracing the whole of Sindh, Bilúchistan, the Punjaub, Afghanistan, and the north-wese frontier of India, are highly valuable records, and should be consulted by all interested in these important portions of our Indian frontier.

CHAP. XVII. Page 333.

From Major General SIR C. J. NAPIER, K. C. B., *commanding in Sindh and Bilúchistan. To the Right Honourable* LORD ELLENBOROUGH, *Governor-General of India, &c. &c. &c.*

Miani, 6 m. from Hyderabad, 18th Feb. 1843

MY LORD,

THE forces under my command have gained a decisive victory over the Amirs of Upper and Lower Sindh. A detailed account of the various circumstances which led to this action does not belong to the limited space of a hasty despatch; I therefore begin with the transactions belonging to the battle. On the 14th instant the whole body of the Amirs assembled in full durbar, formally affixed their seals to the draft treaty. On leaving the durbar, Major Outram and his companions were in great peril; a plot had been laid to murder them all. They were saved by the guards of the Amirs, but the next day (the 15th) the residence of Major Outram was attacked by 8000 of the Amirs' troops, headed by one or more of the Amirs. The report of this nefarious transaction I have the honour to enclose. I heard of it at Hala, at which place the fearless and distin-

guished Major Outram joined me with his brave companions in the stern and extraordinary defence of his residence against so overwhelming a force, accompanied by six pieces of cannon. On the 16th I marched to Muttaree, having there ascertained that the Amirs were in position at Míani, (ten miles distance) to the number of 22,000 men, and well knowing that a delay for reinforcements would both strengthen their confidence and add to their numbers, already seven times that which I commanded, I resolved to attack them, and we marched at 4 A. M. on the morning of the 17th; at eight o'clock the advanced guard discovered their camp, at 9 o'clock we formed in order of battle, about 2800 men of all arms, and twelve pieces of artillery. We were now within range of the enemy's guns, and fifteen pieces of artillery opened upon us, and were answered by our cannon. The enemy were very strongly posted, woods were on their flanks which I did not think could be turned. These two woods were joined by the dry bed of the river Falláli which had a high bank. The bed of the river was nearly straight and about 1200 yards in length. Behind this and in both woods were the enemy posted. In front of their extreme right and on the edge of the wood was a village. Having made the best examination of their position which so short a time permitted, the artillery was posted on the right of the line, and some skirmishers of infantry with the Sindh irregular horse were sent in front to try and make the enemy show his force more distinctly; we then advanced from the right in echellon of battalions, refusing the left to save it from the fire of the village. The 9th Bengal light cavalry formed the reserve in rear of the left wing: and the Poona horse, together with four companies of infantry, guarded the baggage. In this order of battle we advanced as at a review across a fine plain swept by the cannon of the enemy. The artillery and H. M.'s 22d regiment in line, formed the leading echellon, the 25th N. I. the second, the 12th N. I. the third, and the 1st grenadier N. I. the fourth.

The enemy was 1,000 yards from our line, which soon traversed the intervening space. Our fire of musketry opened at about 100 yards from the bank in reply to that of the enemy: and in a few minutes the engagement became general along the bank of the river, on which the combatants fought for about

three hours or more with great fury, man to man. Then, my Lord, was seen the superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword and shield and matchlock. The brave Bilúchis first discharging their matchlocks and pistols, dashed over the bank with desperate resolution; but down went these bold and skilful swordsmen under the superior power of the musket and bayonet. At one time, my Lord, the courage and numbers of the enemy against the 22d, the 25th, and the 12th regiments bore heavily in that part of the battle. There was no time to be lost, and I sent orders to the cavalry to force the right of the enemy's line. This order was v ry gallantly executed by the 9th Bengal cavalry and the Sindh horse; the details of which shall afterwards be stated to your Lordship, for the struggle on our right and centre was at that moment so fierce, that I could not go to the left. In this charge the 9th light cavalry took a standard, and several pieces of artillery, and the Sindh horse took the enemy's camp, from which a vast body of their cavalry slowly retired fighting. Lieutenant Fitzgerald gallantly pursued them for two miles, and, I understand, slew three of the enemy in single combat. The brilliant conduct of these two cavalry regiments decided in my opinion the crisis of the action, for from the moment the cavalry were seen in rear of their right flank, the resistance of our opponents slackened; the 22d regiment forced the bank, the 25th and 12th did the same, the latter regiment capturing several guns, and the victory was decided. The artillery made great havoc among the dense masses of the enemy, and dismounted several of their guns. The whole of the enemy's artillery, ammunition, standards, and camp, with considerable stores and some treasure, were taken.

Mir Rústum Khan, Mir Nasir Khan, and Mir Wullee Mahomed of Khyrpúr; Mir Nasir Khan, Mir Shadad Khan, and Mir Hoosein Khan, all of Hyderabad, came into my camp and surrendered their swords as prisoners of war. Their misfortunes are of their own creation, but as they are great, I returned to them their swords. They await your Lordship's orders. Their Highnesses have surrendered Hyderabad, and I shall occupy it to morrow.

It is not to be supposed that so hard-fought an engagement could be sustained without considerable loss on both sides.

That of the British force is 256 men killed and wounded. The enemy is generally supposed to have lost five thousand; Major Teasdale, while animating his sepoys, dashed on horseback over the bank amidst the enemy, and was instantly shot and sabred; dying like a glorious soldier!

Major Jackson, in like manner, rushed forward, two brave havildars followed him: too far advanced before their men, they fell under the sabres of the enemy, but, it is said, not before he killed several.

Captains Meade, Few, and Cookson, with Lieutenant Wood, all fell honourably urging on the assault with unmitigated valour.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pennefather was severely wounded, as, with the high courage of a soldier, he led his regiment up the desperate bank of the Fallâli. Major Wyllie, Captains Tucker and Conway, Lieutenants Harding and Phayre, were all wounded while gloriously animating their men to sustain the shock of numbers. And now, my Lord, I have to say, that British officers could not show greater gallantry in leading their men into action than did the Queen's and Company's officers on this day, and the troops well maintained their reputation.

From the heads of departments and regiments I have received every assistance throughout the whole campaign, and in the battle.

The gallant charge of the Bengal cavalry was intrepidly led by Lieut.-Colonel Pattle, second in command, and Major Story; nor were the Sindh horse, under Captain Jacob, idle. To this able soldier and his regiment I am indebted for the most active services long previous to and during the combat. He won the enemy's camp, from which he drove a body of three or four thousand cavalry.

Major Lloyd powerfully worked his artillery, ably seconded by Captains Whitlie and Hutt. The destruction caused by their guns is said to have been immense.

Major Waddington of the Engineers has given me great assistance throughout the campaign, and in the action lent me his aid in carrying orders.

Nor is the country less indebted to Major Reid for his gallantry at the head of the 12th N. I. The grenadiers under

Major Clibborn, owing to a misconception of orders, were but slightly engaged.

Major Poole of the 22d, and Captain Jackson of the 25th, who succeeded to the command of those regiments, proved themselves worthy of their dangerous posts. In the medical and commissariat departments both activity and zeal have been shown by Dr. Dalrymple and Captain Blenkins.

Major Wyllie, Assistant Adjutant-General, was wounded while leading up the bank, and I have thereby lost, for a time, his valuable assistance: no man has been more serviceable to me in all our previous operations.

The acting Assistant Quarter-Master-General, Lieut. Mac Murdo, of the 22d regiment, had his horse killed, and while on foot, leading some soldiers in a desperate dash down the enemy's side of the bank, he cut down a chieftain. He has greatly assisted me by his activity and zeal during the whole of our operations. Allow me to recommend to your Lordship's notice and protection Major Macpherson, my aide-de-camp an old soldier of the light division, from whom I have received that assistance which was expected from a veteran of the 43d regiment. To my acting Aide-de-Camp, Lieut. Pelly, I am much indebted in many ways, both during the campaign and in the action, as also to Lieut. Thompson, 9th light cavalry, who acted as my orderly officer during the day, and Lieut. Younghusband, staff officer.

Captain Henderson, of the Madras engineers, took a standard, and did good service with his excellent little band of Sappers and Miners, not only in this engagement but through the campaign. His lieutenants, Boileau and Outlaw, have also distinguished themselves.

Innumerable are the individual acts of intrepidity which took place between our soldiers and their opponents, too numerous for detail in this despatch, yet well meriting a record. I hope that your Lordship will pardon the length of this letter written in the midst of great interruptions and at various times.

Finally, I trust for receiving indulgence from one who so well knows how difficult my position has been for the last five months up to the present moment, and how hard I have laboured, and how much I have risked to avoid a recourse to arms. This sanguinary engagement has been forced upon me by the dupli-

city of the Amirs, though I must say that until the attack upon the residency, neither Major Outram nor myself believed they were resolved to fight, and against which duplicity I never ceased to warn them. My conscience acquits me of the blood which has been shed. The tyrannical and deceitful Amirs brought on the battle, the fierce tribe of Bilúchi robbers were resolved that it should be so, and bravely did they execute their resolution.

I perceive that I have omitted to mention three officers well worthy of being named. To Captain Tait, of the Poona horse, I entrusted charge of the baggage on this day of battle, and I have no doubt that the steadiness and imposing attitude of the detachment under his commmand, held the enemy aloof, for I assure your Lordship no post gave me greater anxiety than that of the baggage guard. Lieutenants Leeson and Brennan have, throughout the whole campaign, been of the greatest use as baggage-master and provost-marshal, and during the action Lieut. Brennan was scarcely from my side a moment, except when conveying orders, nor will I omit to mention the Múnshi Alli Akbar, an Arab, who exhibited the coolest courage, and attended me every where.

I ought to have observed in the body of this despatch, that I had, the night before the action, detached Major Outram in the steamers with two hundred sepoys to set fire to the wood, in which we understood the enemy's left flank was posted. This was an operation of great difficulty and danger, but would have been most important to the result of the battle. However, the enemy had moved about eight miles to their right during the night, and Major Outram executed his task without difficulty at the hour appointed viz. nine o'clock, and from the field we observed the smoke of the burning wood arise. I am strongly inclined to think that this circumstance had some effect on the enemy. But it deprived me of the able services of Major Outram, Captain Green, and Lieut. Brown and Wells, together with two hundred men, which I much regretted for their sakes and for my own, for I much wanted the officers; and here I hope your Lordship will pardon me for saying that the want of European officers in the native regiments at one period endangered the success of the action. The sepoy is a brave and excellent

soldier, but, like all soldiers, he expects to be led on in certain moments, and as he looks to his European officer, if he misses him the greatest danger arises : three times I saw them retreat, evidently because the officers had fallen, and when another appeared and rallied them they at once followed him boldly. This, my Lord, accounts for the great number of European officers killed and wounded in proportion to the whole. I am sure that in observing a defect in the formation of the Company's troops, the effect of which might have been so serious, I shall not be deemed presumptuous or impertinent.

The defence of the residency by Major Outram, and the small force with him, against such numbers of the enemy, was so admirable, that I have scarcely mentioned it in the foregoing despatch, because I propose to send your Lordship a detailed account of it as a brilliant example of defending a military post.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. J. Napier, Major General,
Commanding in Sindh and Bilúchistan.

This action was fought at Míani, within sight of the towers of Hyderabad.

C. J. N.

From Major J. Outram, *Commissioner. To Major-General* Sir C. J. Napier, K. C. B. *Commanding in Sindh and Biluchistan.*

On board the Planet steamer, 15 m. above Hyderabad,
6 p. m., 15th February, 1843.

Sir,

My despatches of the last few days will have led you to expect that my earnest endeavours to effect an amicable arrangement with the Amirs of Sindh would fail, and it is with much regret I have now to report that their Highnesses have commenced hostilities by attacking my residence this morning ; which after four hours' most gallant defence by my honorary escort, the light company of her Majesty's 22d regiment, commanded by Captain

Conway, I was compelled to evacuate in consequence of our ammunition running short.

About 9 A. M. this morning a dense body of cavalry and infantry took post on three sides of the Agency compound (the fourth being defended by the Planet steamer about 500 yards distant) in the gardens and houses which immediately command the enclosure, and which it was impossible to hold with our limited numbers: a hot fire was opened by the enemy and continued incessantly for four hours, but all their attempts to enter the Agency enclosure, although merely surrounded by a wall, varying from four to five feet high, were frustrated by Captain Conway's able distribution of his small band, and the admirable conduct of every individual soldier composing it under the gallant example of their commanding officer and his subalterns, Lieut. Harding and Ensign Pennefather, H. M. 22nd regiment, also Captains Green of the 21st regiment Native Infantry, and Wells of the 15th regiment, who volunteered their services, to each of whom was assigned the charge of a separate quarter; also to your A. D. C., Captain Brown, Bengal Engineers, who carried my orders to the steamer and assisted in working her guns and directing her flanking fire. Our ammunition being limited to forty rounds per man, the officers directed their whole attention to reserving their fire, and keeping their men close under cover, never showing themselves or returning a shot except when the enemy attempted to rush, or showed themselves in great numbers, consequently great execution was done with trifling expenditure of ammunition and with little loss. Our hopes of receiving a reinforcement and a supply of ammunition by the Satellite steamer (hourly expected) being disappointed on the arrival of that vessel without either, shortly after the commencement of the attack, it was decided at 12 A. M., after being three hours under fire, to retire to the steamer, while still we had sufficient ammunition left to fight the vessel up the river. Accordingly I requested Captain Conway to keep the enemy at bay for one hour, while the property was removed, for which that time was ample, could the camp followers be induced to exert themselves; after delivering their first loads on board, however, they were so terrified at the enemy's cross fire on the clear space between the compound and the vessel, that none

could be persuaded to return except a few of the officers' servants, with whose assistance but little could be removed during the limited time we could afford, consequently much had to be abandoned, and I am sorry to find, that the loss chiefly fell upon the officers and men, who were too much occupied in keeping off the enemy to be able to attend to their own interests. Accordingly, after the expiration of another hour (during which the enemy, despairing of otherwise effecting their object, had brought up six guns to bear upon us) we took measures to evacuate the Agency. Captain Conway called in his posts, and all being united, retired in a body, covered by a few skirmishers, as deliberately as on parade (carrying off our slain and wounded), which, and the fire from the steam boats deterred the enemy from pressing us as they might have done. All being embarked, I then directed Mr. Acting Commander Miller, commanding the Satellite steamer, to proceed with his vessel to the wood station, three miles up the river on the opposite bank, to secure a sufficiency of fuel for our purposes ere it should be destroyed by the enemy, while I remained with the Planet to take off the barge that was moored to the shore. This being a work of some time, during which a hot fire was opened on the vessel from three guns which the enemy brought to bear on her, besides small arms, and requiring much personal exposure cf the crew (especially of Mr. Cole, the commander of the vessel), I deem it my duty to bring to your favourable notice their zealous exertions on the occasion, and also to express my obligations to Messrs. Miller and Cole for the flanking fire they maintained on the enemy during their attack on the Agency, and for their support during the retirement and embarkation of the troops. The *Satellite* was also exposed to three guns in her progress up to the woods and station, one of which she dismounted by her fire. The vessels were followed by large bodies of the enemy for about three miles, occasionally opening their guns upon us to no purpose, since then we have pursued our voyage up the Indus about fifteen miles without molestation; and purpose to-morrow morning anchoring off Muttarie, where I expect to find your camp. Our casualties amount to two men of H. M. 22d regiment, and one camp follower killed; and Mr. Conductor Kiely, Mr. Carlisle, Agency-clerk, two of the

steamer's crew, four of H. M. 22d regiment, and two camp followers wounded, and four camp followers missing.

Total, three killed, ten wounded, and four missing.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. OUTRAM, Commissioner.

(True copy.)

(Signed) J. OUTRAM, Commissioner.

From Major-General Sir C. J. NAPIER, K. C. B., *commanding in Sindh and Bilúchistan, To the Right Honourable* LORD ELLENBOROUGH, *Governor-General of India, &c. &c.*

Duppa, four miles from Hyderabad, 24th March, 1843.

MY LORD,

THE forces under my command marched from Hyderabad this morning at daybreak. About half past 8 o'clock we discovered and attacked the army under the personal command of the Meer Shere Mahomed, consisting of twenty thousand men of all arms, strongly posted behind one of those large nullahs, by which this country is intersected in all directions. After a combat of about three hours, the enemy was wholly defeated with considerable slaughter, and the loss of all his standards and cannon.

His position was nearly a straight line; the nullah was formed by two deep parallel ditches, one 20 feet wide and 8 feet deep, the other 42 feet wide and 17 deep, which had been for a long distance freshly scarped, and a banquet made behind the bank expressly for the occasion.

To ascertain the extent of his line was extremely difficult, as his left did not appear to be satisfactorily defined, but he began moving to his right when he perceived that the British force outflanked him in that direction. Believing that this movement had drawn him from that part of the nullah which had been prepared for defence, I hoped to attack his right with less difficulty, and Major Leslie's troop of Horse Artillery was ordered to move forward and endeavour to rake the nullah. The 9th Light Cavalry and Poona Horse advancing in line, on the left of the artillery, which was supported on the right by her Ma-

jesty's 22d Regiment, the latter being, however, at first considerably retired to admit of the oblique fire of Leslie's troop. The whole of the artillery now opened upon the enemy's position, and the British line advanced in echellons from the left, H. M. 22d Regiment leading the attack.

The enemy was now perceived to move from his centre in considerable bodies to his left, apparently retreating, unable to sustain the cross-fire of the British artillery; on seeing which Major Stack, at the head of the 3d Cavalry, under command of Captain Delamain, and the Sindh Horse, under command of Captain Jacob, made a brilliant charge upon the enemy's left flank, crossing the nullah and cutting down the retreating enemy for several miles. While this was passing on the right, H. M. 22d Regiment, gallantly led by Major Poole, who commanded the brigade, and Captain George, who commanded the corps, attacked the nullah on the left with great gallantry, and I regret to add, with considerable loss. This brave battalion marched up to the nullah under a heavy fire of matchlocks, without returning a shot till within forty paces of the intrenchment, and then stormed it like British soldiers. The intrepid Lieutenant Coote first mounted the rampart, seized one of the enemy's standards, and was severely wounded while waving it and cheering on his men. Meanwhile the Poona Horse, under Captain Tait, and the 9th Cavalry, under Major Story, turned the enemy's right flank, pursuing and cutting down the fugitives for several miles. H. M. 22d Regiment was well supported by the batteries commanded by Captains Willoughby and Hutt, which crossed their fire with that of Major Leslie. Then came the 2d Brigade under command of Major Woodburn, bearing down into action with excellent coolness. It consisted of the 25th, 21st and 12th Regiments under the command of Captains Jackson, Stevens and Fisher, respectively; these regiments were strongly sustained by the fire of Captain Whitley's battery, on the right of which were the 8th and 1st Regiments, under Majors Browne and Clibborne; these two corps advanced with the regularity of a review up to the intrenchments, their commanders, with considerable exertion, stopping their fire, on seeing that a portion of the Sindh Horse and 3d Cavalry in charging the enemy had got in front of the Brigade. The battle

was decided by the troop of Horse Artillery and H. M. 22d Regiment.

To Lieutenant Colonel Pattle, as second in command, I am indebted for his zealous activity and readiness to execute any duties confided to his charge.

To my personal staff, and to the general staff of the division, my thanks are due for their zealous assistance.

I beg to recommend my acting aid-de-camp, Lieut. Thompson, to your Lordship's protection.

The long experience of my military secretary, Major McPherson, was of much assistance to me in the field.

To my extra aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Brown, I have also to return my best thanks, especially for his assistance in examining the position of the enemy.

Captain Tucker, Lieutenants Rathbourne, Hill, North and Battersby, all did good service in the fight.

To Lieutenant Pelly, acting Assistant Adjutant-General, I am indebted for his zealous exertions in that department.

Of Lieutenant McMurdo's abilities, as acting Assistant Quarter-Master-General, I cannot speak too highly, and regret to say he has received a sabre wound from a Bilúchi, the third that he cut down in single combat during the day.

To Major Lloyd, who commanded the artillery, the service is indebted for the arrangements made for that arm, ably seconded by Major Leslie, Captains Willoughby, Whitley, and Hutt.

To the Commanders of Brigades and Regiments, and the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates under their command, I have to return my thanks for their valiant bearing in the action.

Major Waddington rendered me the most important aid in examining the enemy's position with that cool courage which he possesses in so eminent a degree; nor must I omit to mention the labours of Captain Henderson and Lieutenants Outlaw and Boileau, with their hardy little band of Sappers, whose labours enabled the heavy eight-inch howitzers to come up into action.

To Captain Blenkins, the service is indebted for the ablest arrangements in the Commissariat department.

The exertions of the officers of the medical department, under Inspecting Surgeon Bell, were very laudable.

Lieutenant Leeson well arranged the baggage close up to the line, and merits thanks; for the duty of Baggage Master, with an Indian army, is Herculean.

I will not close the list of those to whom I am indebted, without mentioning that brave and indefatigable Arab gentleman Ally Ackbar, to whose ability and activity I am much indebted.

Many, my Lord, have been the acts of individual valour performed by officers and private soldiers (both European and native), and the account of them shall hereafter be laid before your Lordship.

The Bilúchi Infantry and Artillery fought well: their cavalry made no stand, and 5,000 disciplined soldiers were not to be long resisted by a barbarian force, even though that force were nearly five to one.

From the accounts which have come in since writing the above, there is reason to believe, that the loss of the enemy has been very great: about 500 bodies have been counted upon the field of battle, and it is said that the neighbouring villages are filled with dead and wounded men. Eleven pieces of cannon were taken in position on the nullah, and seventeen standards.

It gives me great satisfaction to say, that some prisoners have been taken, and though the number is small, it is still some advance towards a civilized mode of warfare, for I cannot help thinking that the desperate resistance generally made by wounded Bilúchis has arisen from their own system of warfare, which admits of no quarter being given in action.

We are at present employed in collecting the wounded Belúchis within our reach, in order to render them medical assistance.

I have deeply to regret the loss of the brave and excellent Captain Garrett, of the 9th Light Cavalry, who fell honourably in the battle; and also the fall of Lieutenant Smith, of the Bombay Artillery. With unsurpassed and desperate valour he galloped in front of his battery, and rode up upon the top of the nullah (filled with enemies) to see where his guns could bear with greatest effect—Here this hero fell. Many of the Sindhian people (who are all in great delight at the destruction of their Bilúchi oppressors) have come into camp from different

parts, and bring assurances that the Bilúchi force is wholly dispersed, and that Meer Shere Mahomed has fled into the desert with his family and about forty followers, but as Emaum Ghur has been destroyed, the heat will soon force him to quit this temporary refuge, where there is no protection from the sun. He will therefore probably endeavour to reach Moultan. I have written to his Highness Ali Morad to arrest his progress in that direction, if possible, and to make him prisoner.

Three Bilúchi chiefs fell in the action; one of them was the great promoter of the war, Hajee Mahomed Seedee; and I have every reason to believe that not another shot will be fired in Sindh.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Napier, Major-General,
Commanding in Sindh and Bilúchistan.

Chap. XVII. Page 336.

Shir Mahomed's conduct connected with this last action and that previously fought at Míani deserves notice. In the latter he took no part, but is said to have represented that though he had assembled his followers he had but passed his frontier, and only meditated the defence of his capital: he was assured of being unmolested so long as he continued neuter. After the battle of Míani he sent to know what terms he might then expect: he was answered, the same as those granted his brother chiefs (they were all prisoners of war). Previous to the battle of Duppa, having acquired additional strength, he again sent to know what terms could be granted, and the answer to his vakils was characteristic of war, the report of a gun. Seeing that there was no hope of terms the Mirpúr chief preferred the alternative of arms. In order to bring the condition of the Amirs of Sindh whilst prisoners in our hands down to the latest date, it should be mentioned that learning, on their departure from Bombay to their prisons, the distressed and afflicted state of their families in Sindh, they are reported to have wept and embraced, using this forcible expression: "There will be no justice for us until God sits in the Adawlut" (or seat of judg-

ment). They are kept closely guarded, and no individual, European or native, is allowed any access to them.

Chap. XVIII. Page 352.

The estimated expense of the troops in Sindh for the current year is said to be about 80 lacs of rupees (80,000*l.*): the revenue has been shown under the late chiefs at its highest as 40 lacs (40,000*l.*).

Memorandum.

A pamphlet by the author, lately published by Mr. Richardson, of Cornhill, enters somewhat at greater length into the commercial prospects offered by the river Indus than could be permitted in a work like the present.

THE END.